ÄGYPTISCHE URKUNDEN
aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
Griechische Urkunden, XVI. Band

# THE ARCHIVE OF ATHENODOROS

## (and assorted documents of the Augustan period)

edited by

William M. Brashear

STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN - PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ

BERLIN 1995

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CORPUS. BGU 26


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# Preface

From 1975 to 1981 the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft financed a project to retrieve papyri from the cartonnage coffins in West Berlin's Egyptian Museum. Instead of a whole coffin, a single coffin fragment was dismantled. Still it produced enough material for an entire BGU volume. These documents along with various odd pieces from disparate sources – all from Ptolemaic Egypt – were published in BGU XIV (see the introduction there). During the latter years of the same project, another coffin fragment was taken apart, producing again enough material for an entire BGU volume. The documents from this second coffin, together with the occasional odd piece from other sources, make up the contents of the present volume, thus presenting the final results of the project initiated twenty years ago and so generously funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

This coffin fragment produced a group of documents comprising an ensemble which for convenience' sake can best be labelled the "Athenodoros archive". For the most part, this archive consists of letters written by or addressed to a certain Athenodoros, *dioicete* over probably a sub-provincial district in the Herakleopolite nome in the middle years of Augustus's rule. Other letters and documents, official and private, while nowhere bearing directly on the person of Athenodoros and his correspondants, nonetheless are written sometimes by the same scribes who wrote the letters in the Athenodoros archive, concern the same persons and date from the same period. These are the most complete and comprehensible texts taken from the coffin section. In addition, dozens of fragments, neatly cut in half either length-wise or cross-wise, and upper or lower right or left corner sections of letters, all obviously belonging to the same archive, were also recovered from the same coffin.

After discovering that the Demosthenes speech out of this coffin, P. 21284, was part of the same sheet as P. 16895 (published by W. Müller, Forschungen u. Berichte 10 [1968] 128f.), it seemed a good idea to check the adjacent numbers for related papyri. W. Müller and G. Poethke kindly allowed me access to the papyri in the collection on their side of the still-divided city. My suspicions were soon confirmed. I was able to join a few of the newly discovered texts with the corresponding sections which had been extracted from cartonnage and inventoried by our predecessor papyrologists in Berlin at the beginning of the century.

Unfortunately, a number of papyri in the same series (P. 16902–16913) have disappeared without a trace. One wonders if they too would have provided some fragments belonging to Athenodoros's archive. It seems senseless to publish the numerous, disparate, unjoined fragments until their missing sections someday

should have been recovered from whatever coffin section they might happen still to be lying in, hidden from view. (See on the dispersion of fragments of the same document in different pieces of cartonnage: O. Guéraud, P. Enteuxis, p. x; H. Cadell, P. Sorbonne 46 introd.; J. Scherer, YCS 28 [1985] 57.)

In addition to the Athenodoros archive whose documents date from 21/20 B.C. to 5 A.D., this coffin section also produced a magical text (P. 21243: ZPE 33 [1979] 261ff.), a Greek-Latin word list (P. 21246: Congr. 16, 31–41) and the aforementioned speech of Demosthenes (P. 21284: ZPE 48 [1982] 61f.). An anomaly among all the documents from the Athenodoros archive of Augustan date is P. 25263, an oath by a catoecic cavalry soldier dating to 52 B.C. This is the earliest dated text from this source, and it will be published in a volume of contemporary Ptolemaic documents.

Another group of disparate documents comprises those papyri which were evidently extracted from cartonnage at the beginning of this century and deposited in boxes for safe-keeping. The boxes survived the vicissitudes of World War II and eventually landed in the Ägyptisches Museum (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin) where they were rediscovered during the research project financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. These are: **2559, 2560–2576, 2577, 2665, 2672, 2673, 2674**.

From other sources: **2588, 2589**.

The extremely time-consuming and delicate operations of dismantling the mummy cases, extracting their constituent papyri and finally straightening them out, cleaning their surfaces of all foreign material, pressing them flat, and finally placing the papyri to be published between glass plates were capably and masterfully executed by Jürgen Hofmann, papyrus restorer in the Ägyptisches Museum. The excellent reproductions are due to the professional skill of the same museum's photographer, Margarete Büsing.

Many and heartfelt thanks to Joan Christman for perspicacious proof-reading and saving me from numerous errors. Likewise, to Hermann Harrauer and Christian Wildberg for formatting this work on the computer and for otherwise often coming to my rescue when I was at the end of my electronic rope.

Finally, special thanks to Jörg Aigner of Mega-Satz-Service (Berlin) who devoted much time and energy, spit and polish, putting this book into its final form.

Berlin 1995 Wm. Brashear



## Table of Papyri

(all dates B.C., unless otherwise indicated)

## Abbreviations

The abbreviations correspond generally to those cited in LSJ (= Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th ed., List of Abbreviations III–IV, pp. xlii–xlvi) and LSJ Supplement, pp. x–xi. For editions of papyri and ostraca see J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis and K.A. Worp, Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca, 3rd ed. (= BASP Suppl. 4), 1985.

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Congr. 5: Actes du Ve congrès international de papyrologie. Oxford, 30 août–3 septembre 1937, Brussels 1938.

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Congr. 20: Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen, 23-29 August, 1992, Copenhagen 1994.

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## Journals and Series

ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.
APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
ASP = American Studies in Papyrology.
BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.
BSAA = Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie.
CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Egyptologie de Lille.
LdÄ = Lexikon der Ägyptologie.
MB = Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte.
NDIEC = New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity.
OGIS = Wilhelmius Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Leipzig 1903.
RAC = Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.
RE = Paulys Realencyclopäedie der classischen Altertumswisenschaft.
SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.
SB = Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten.
SPP = Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde.
ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.



## Editorial conventions:

| | |
|---|---|
| .... | unread letters |
| [....] or [αβγδ] | lacuna |
| α̣β̣γ̣δ̣ | uncertain, unclear letters |
| (αβγδ) | resolved symbol or abbreviation |
| \αβγδ/ | supralinear insertion |
| <αβγδ> | erroneous omission |
| ⟦αβγδ⟧ | deletion |
| {αβγδ} | superfluous letters |

Accents and punctuation, unless otherwise noted, are modern additions to the transcriptions. Lectional signs on the original texts are noted either in the apparatus criticus or the line notes, as are orthographical faults, etc. Numbers in bold face indicate papyri in the series Berliner Griechische Urkunden. The first measurement indicates the maximum height, the second the maximum width. The word *verso*, as it is employed in this volume, designates the vertical fibers of the papyrus bearing either the address of the letters or secondary entries in the accounts.

## 2558 Edict

P. 25384 — Herakleopolites
15 x 14.7 cm. — July 22, 12

Margins: upper 2.2, left 1.8, lower 2.5, right 0.5–3.4 cm. The writing is similar to that of PSI X 1160 = Montevecchi, Papirologia, tav. 30; and P. Mich. inv. 1674 in BASP 21 (1984) 84. Verso is devoid of writing.
The present document is the earliest known edict from Roman Egypt. Given the fragmentary state of the papyrus, determining its nature is well nigh impossible. Even the few tantalizing bits that can be pieced together do not lead to anything really conclusive. Someone is accused of making a pretense of something (ll. 3–4). The former prefect Barbarus and a companion (-calper?) are mentioned (l.4). Enigmatic is the juxtaposition of a cloak and a trip through the provinces (ll. 5–6). The penalties for persons caught acting contrary to this edict will be arrest and punishment (ll. 6–8). Anyone who is caught red-handed will be handed over to the prefect (ll. 8–9).
R. Katzoff, "Sources of Law in Roman Egypt: the Role of the Prefect," ANRW II 13, 820, summarizes the external characteristics of the prefectural edict: 1) prefect's name (in early Augustan Egypt there is no address or greeting); 2) λέγει = *dicit*; 3) the edict proper, (without addressee or greeting) treating usually a single subject; 4) threat of a severe penalty for violation; 5) date (no concluding salutation precedes it). The present document adheres precisely to these criteria. Cf. Katzoff 810, for a list of edicts from Roman Egypt.

...[ ± 16 ]οκλος λέγει α
ὁρων̣ .[ ± 16 ]ο̣ις νομοῖς γινόμεν[οι]ς
τωτιναε̣[ ± 16 ]γκότων σχῆμα ὑποδυ-
ομένου [ ± 16 ]ο̣καλπερ καὶ Βάρβαρος
5 [ὁ] ἡγεμων....[ ± 13 ]. φαινόλη περιπατεῖν
[ἐ]ν τοῖς νομοῖς πλ[ ± 10 ]μ̣ε̣νοις ἔξεστιν ὥστ' ἂν
[πα]ρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ [±10 ]ς̣ προστ̣[ά]ξα̣[ν]τος κολασ-
θήσεται συνλαβάνειν [.].[±7 ]λ̣ύ̣πτους καὶ πέμπειν
ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα μετὰ σαφίας το[ὺ]ς φωραθέντας.
10 (ἔτους) ι[ζ]η Καίσαρος Ἐ[φ]εὶφ κ̄η

1 ]οκλος: The κακοδαίμων of papyrologists has played a particularly spiteful prank here and deprived us of the name of the prefect in office between P. Rubrius Barbarus and C. Turranius.
λέγει: Cf. M. Benner, The Emperor Says: Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire, Gothenberg 1975.
4 ]ο̣καλπερ: The only possibility would seem to be a Latin name ending in *-calper*.
4–5 Βάρβαρος [ὁ] ἡγεμωνεύσας would be the most appropriate reading, if one could make anything out of the traces. Cf. **2595**.2–3 n. The only attestations for Barbarus's period in office derive from 15/14 and 13/12 B.C., without any more specific time references. At the time this edict was posted, however, he was no longer prefect. According to Robert Bennett, The Prefects of Roman Egypt, diss. Yale 1970, 163–166, no prefect at this time held office for more than four years. Hence, on the basis of **2595** (15/14 B.C.) and this document one can provisionally give P. Rubrius Barbarus a term in office from 16/15 to 13/12 B.C.



15 φαινόλη = Lat. *paenula*. Further attestations and discussion can be found in P. Yale 82.8 n.; P. Oxy. 4002.10 n.; Lauffer, Preisedikt, p. 267 *s.v.*
8 *l.* συλλαμβάνειν [τοὺς ἀπερικα]λύπτους *aut sim.*
9 σαφίας: *addendum lexicis*; or *l.* σαφ⟨ηνε⟩ίας ?

## 2559 Sitologos Receipts

P. 25160 — Koma
30.3 x 18.4 cm. — A.D. 1–9

Margins: upper 4.5, right 3–5.7, left 2, lower 5.3 cm. Interlinear spaces: lines 5–6: 3 cm; lines 11–12: 2 cm. Although one person seems to have written the first two entries (lines 1–5; 6–11), in the latter he used a different pen that was more blunt than normal. Verso blank.
Dioskurides and his colleagues, *sitologoi* in the village of Koma, certify to Taonnophris various payments *in natura* on the tax called μοναρταβία κατοίκων for three different and non-consecutive years. Although not a single receipt on this sheet is complete, the lacunae in an entry can usually be filled out using the information from the corresponding sections in other entries.
Various criteria indicate that the document in question represents an extract from a tax register: 1) Three different payments for three different years are recorded here on one papyrus – in reverse order of payment (first, for the 38th year of Augustus, then for the 32nd year and finally for the 31st year). 2) The entries are written by two different persons. 3) There are no official signatures, no specific dates of payments and no salutations at the end of the individual documents. Hence, these are not separate, individual tax receipts written on one papyrus, but rather extracts. Cf. R. Bagnall, K. Worp, APF 30 (1984) 79–82, for "multiple-receipt tax rolls".
These extracts from *sitologos*-receipts are the earliest evidence for such receipts from Roman Egypt and the first ones from the Herakleopolites ever. Parallels are listed in the commentaries to **2299**; P. Ups. Frid 4; P. Hamb. 208. The next oldest seem to be **787** (39/40 A.D.; Faijum); P. Oxy. 38.2842 (29 A.D.?; Herakleopolites ?).

(*m.1*) [ ±8] .[.]... σιτο\λ/(όγοι) Κόμα Ταοννώφρι
[.... χαί(ρειν)] μ̣εμετρ\ή/(μεθα) εἰς τὸ \δ/η(μόσιον) δι\ὰ/ λόγ(ου) Κόμα
[.... εἰς ἀ]ρίθμ\η/(σιν) τῇ ιθ¯τοῦ Ἐπεὶφ λ̣η̣
[......] Καίσαρος (μοναρταβίας) κατοί(κων) σύμπ\α/(ντι) πυρ\ο/(ῦ) ἀρτάβ\α/(ς)
5 δ̣ύ̣ο̣ προσμ\ε/(τρουμένων) ἕκτον (γίν.) σύμ(παντι) (πυροῦ) βς´

Διοσκουρί\δ/(ης) καὶ Ἀπ̣ο̣λ̣[...]. Ἀλέξαν\δ/(ρος) σιτο\λ/(όγοι)
Κόμα Ταοννώφρ̣ι̣ [......] . χαίρειν.
μ̣ε̣μ̣ετρή(μεθα) εἰς τὸ \δ/(ημόσιον) δι\ὰ/ λ̣ό̣γ̣(ου) [.].. (μοναρταβίας)
κατ(οίκων)προσ\η/(γμένας)
ε[ἰς ἀρ]ι̣θ̣μ\η/(σιν) τῇ η¯τοῦ Θ̣ω̣ὺ\θ/ .μν\η/( ) λβ (ἔτους)
10 Καίσα[ρ]ος σύμπ\α/(ντι) πυρ\ο/(ῦ) ἀρτά\β/(ας) δύο τρίτον
δωδέκατ\ο/(ν) (γίν.) σύμ(παντι) (πυροῦ) βγ´ι´β´

(*m.2*)Δ̣[ιοσκου]ρί\δ/(ης) κ̣[αὶ .....] Ἀλέξαν\δ/(ρος) σιτολ(όγοι) Κόμα
Τα[οννώ]φρι [.....] . χ̣[αί(ρειν)] μεμετρή(μεθα) εἰς τὸ δ(ημόσιον) διὰ λόγο̣υ̣
Κ[όμα ..]αν[ ]..[.] ε[ἰ]ς ἀριθμή(σιν) τῇ ζ¯τοῦ Φαῶφι τ[.]
15 [ ± 10 ]ου....( ) .... λα (ἔτους) Καίσα[ρ]ος (μοναρτ.) κ̣α̣τ̣(οίκ.)
[σύμπα(ντι) π]υρ(οῦ) ἀρτάβα(ς) δ̣[ύ]ο τρίτο(ν) δωδέκατο(ν) [(γίν.)
σύμπα(ντι) (πυροῦ) β γ´ι´β´ ]

1,6,12 σιτο̑ 2,8,13 -τρ\ , το̑ , δι\ , 3,9,14 αριθμ\ 4 α¯ο κατ συμπ πυρ αρταβ\
5 /σῦ + 7 χ 8 α¯ο κατπροσ\ 9 .μν\ 10 συμπ πυρ αρταβ\ 11,16 κατ/σῦ +
13 λογ

1 Κόμα: See BGU XIV, p. 220.
3–4 Ἐπεὶφ λ̣η̣ or Ἐπεὶφ α¯. ς̣ or Ἐπεὶφ α̣π̣: The strokes resemble more απ than λη. If it is, in fact, the 38th year here, then the date would be July 13, 9 A.D.
4 [± 6] Καίσαρος: What stood in the lacuna?
Cf. Wallace, Taxation 13ff.; P. Ryl. 202a.8 n. on the one-artab-tax on *catoecs*.
σύμπα(ντι)?: Cf. J. Shelton, P. Oxy. 3163.9 n.; or should one expand the abbreviation here according to P. Rain. Cent. 47.18: [συμπά]σ̣ας ... (ἀρτάβας)?
5 προσμε(τρουμένων): Cf. Wallace, Taxation 38f.; Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., pp. 231ff.; Schuman, Congr. 9, 254–6; *id.*, "Taxes in Kind," in: Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni II, Milan 1957, 301–306; A. Gara, Prosdiagraphomena et la circolazione monetaria, Milan 1976, 26–43 *passim*.
It is odd that the *prosmetrumena* are mentioned only here and not in the other sums in lines 11 and 16. Are they maybe there included in the sum without being mentioned *expressis verbis*?
6 Διοσκουρίδ(ης): Cf. **2560–2576** where Dioskurides makes frequent appearance.
9 Sept. 9, 2 A.D.
Θωὺθ ο̣μνη( ) ? Or σ̣μνη( ) ?, or ς̣μνη( ) ?
.σ̣μνη( ) = ἑξάμηνος ?, ὑπ(ὲρ) γ̣ενή(ματος) ? The entries between the month name and the year here and in ll. 3 and 14–15, which are not at all uniform in their makeup, are neither entirely satisfactorily deciphered nor explicable.
14–15 Another possible reading might be: Φαῶφι τ[.].[ ± 10 ]ου ....σ̣( ) .μ̣ν̣η̣( ) λα (ἔτους) Καίσαρος = October 4, 1 A.D. Cf. l. 9 n.



Translation

(Dioskurides, Apol- and Alexander ?), *sitologoi* of (the village of) Koma, (greetings) to Taonnophris, daughter of N.N. We have had measured out to us into the state treasury on the account of Koma for the month's record on Epeiph 19 of the 38th (year ...) of Caesar for the one-artab-tax on *catoecs*, all told two artabs of wheat, and for additional payments one-sixth, makes all told $2^1/_6$ (artabs of) wheat.

Dioskurides, Apol- (and Alexander ?), *sitologoi* of (the village of) Koma, to Taonnophris, (daughter of N.N.), greetings. We have had measured out to us into the state treasury on the account of ... paid into the account for the one-artab-tax on *catoecs* on Thoth 19 of the 32nd year of Caesar, all told two and five-twelfths artabs of wheat, equals all told $2^5/_{12}$ (artabs of) wheat.

To Dioskurides, (Apol-) and Alexander, *sitologoi* of (the village of) Koma, to Taonnophris, daughter of N.N., greetings. We have had measured out to us into the state treasury on the account of Koma ... paid into the account on Phaophi 7 ... of the 31st year of Caesar, for the one-artab-tax on *catoecs*, all told two and five-twelfths artabs of wheat, (equals all told 2 $^5/_{12}$ [artabs] of wheat).

## 2560–2576

### Orders for Seed Grain

The following seventeen papyri are the earliest examples of orders for seed grain from Roman Egypt and thus to be inserted between the last attested Ptolemaic documents of the same genre (SB V 8755, 8756; 49–48 B.C. ?) and the first heretofore attested Roman ones (P. Lond. II 256 e (p. 96) = Wilcken, Chrest. 344; 11 A.D.; P. Vindob. Tandem 9; 10 and 12 A.D.).

A unique feature of the Berlin papyri is the *katasporeus-toparch* issuing the directives. In many parallel documents the *strategos* acts in collaboration with the royal scribe or other officials (such as the *phorologos* in P. Vindob. Tandem 9.20, or another person or group of persons in P. Köln 137), and uniformity is not apparent. Since the *katasporeus-toparch* appears in this function throughout the six years covered in the Berlin documents (8/7– 3/2 B.C.), it was evidently considered a completely normal state of affairs. Each official is also found acting independently in the same function as here, issuing orders for seed grain: the *katasporeus* in P. Oxy. 2185; the *toparch* in P. Lond. 256 d,e.

Depending on the year involved, two different individuals are attested issuing these orders: Heraclitos in the year 8/7, and Demetrios in the year 3/2.

The addressees involved are usually Dioskurides and his colleages, *sitologoi* in the village of Koma in 8/7 and 3/2 (cf. **2559**). In **2575** of uncertain dating, other *sitologoi* seem to be at work. In one document (**2567**) a scribe appears as addressee in the countersigning order.

Just as in P. Oxy. 2185.15–17, in several of the Berlin documents the village scribe

confirms the fact that the farmers receiving the seed grain actually farm the land they specify. In P. Köln 137 it is the *topogrammateus* who does the confirming.

On the *katasporeus* see P. Petaus 52 introd., P. Wisc. II 62; P. Mon. III, pp. 126–127; Oertel, Liturgie 188. On the *toparch*, Oertel, Liturgie 162.

For parallel documents, pertinent literature and description of the course of events involved in these orders see R. Hübner, P. Köln 137 introd.; K. Worp, P. Sijpesteijn, P. Vindob. Tandem 9 introd.; D. and U. Hagedorn in: P. Coll. Youtie I 22; D. Samuel, *ibid.*, 26; P. Berl. Leihg. II 26; P. Berol. 11559: G. Poethke, Epimerismos (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 8), Brussels 1969, 93f. = SB X 10614.

## 2560

P. 25187 — Herakleopolites
17.4 x 12.8 cm. — 8/7

Margins: left 2 cm., upper 4.5 cm. The light brown papyrus has been pieced together from several fragments and is still extremely lacunose. *Kollesis ca.* 3 cm. from the right. The document was written with a thick pen in coarse, angular strokes. The same hand wrote **2561.**

The 3.4 x 4.1 cm. fragment with two lines of writing by the same hand may not necessarily belong to this text, especially since one expects a different hand in the countersignature (here lines 12–13) – cf., for example, **2562**, **2563**. Verso blank.

Ἡ̣[ράκλιτος τοπάρ]χ\η/(ς) καὶ κατασπορεὺ(ς)
Διοσκ[ο]υρίδ[ηι κα]ὶ τοῖ[ς] μετόχο̣ι̣[ς] χαίρ⟨ε⟩ιν
μετ(ρήσατε) εἰ⟨ς⟩ σ̣π̣έ̣[ρμ]α̣τ̣α̣ δ̣ά̣ν̣ε̣ι̣α̣ τοῦ εἰς
τ[ὸ] κγ (ἔτος) Καίσ[αρος σπόρου] ε̣ἰς τὰς
5 σεσημμαμμένας [ὑπὸ τ]οῦ κωμογ\ρ/(αμματέως)
[τῆς κώ]μ̣[η]ς̣ Μαχάτα̣ Λιμναίου εἰς ἃς
γεωργεῖ περὶ Τοοὺ ἐκ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Π̣τ̣ολεμαίο(υ)
κλ(ήρου) Ἱερονίνων ἀρο(ύρας) ς καὶ ἐκ ⟨τοῦ⟩ Θεοδωρί-
δο(υ) Ἀγήνορος ὑποτε(θεμένας) Ἐπιφανί(ου) [κ]λ̣\ή̣/(ρῳ̣) ιδ (γίν.)(ἄρ.) κ
10 πυροῦ ἀρτά(βας) δέκα (γίν.)[(πυροῦ ἀρτ.)] ι̣ [ ]...
]..[
---------------------------
---------------------------
]προκειμ[ένας
] (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) ι (ἔτους) κγ Καίσα̣[ρος

1 -χ, -σπορευ 3 μετ 4 L 5 κωμογρ 7 -μαιο 8 κλ, αρο, ς, 9 δο, υποτ, -φανι, ..ιδ / ς, 10 πυρο αρτ, / 13 ε, L



5 *l.* σεσημασμένας.
7 Τοού: See **2440**.15 n.
8 Ἱερονίνων: This name seems so far unattested in Roman Egypt.
8–9 Cf. P. Mert. 85.13,29, for a holding belonging to a person with this name. The name is also attested in Pape.
9–10 According to Rostowzew, Kolonat 52, and Schnebel 125f., one artab per arura was the normal rate, although exceptions were not unknown – see Schnebel 126. Here only 1/2 artab of seed grain per arura is given.

Translation

(Heraklitos, *toparch*) and *katasporeus* to Dioskurides and his colleagues, greetings. Measure out to Machatas, son of Limnaios, ten – 10 – artabs of wheat in seed loans of grain for (sowing) in the 23rd year of Caesar in the (plots) indicated by the village scribe (of the village), for the land which he farms near Tou: from the holding of Ptolemaios, son of Hieroninos (?), 6 aruras; from the holding of Theodorides, son of Agenor, allocated to the holding of Epiphanios, 14 aruras, equals 20 aruras; ten artabs of wheat equals 10 art. of wheat ... the aforementioned ... 10 artabs. Year 23 of Caesar ....

## 2561

P. 25188 — Herakleopolites
15.4 x 13 and 3.2 x 6.6 cm. — 8/7

Margins: upper 6.3, left 2, lower 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 5 cm. from the left. This light brown, thick but nonetheless brittle, papyrus has been pieced together from several fragments and is still extremely lacunose. Written in the same hand as **2560**. Verso blank.

Ἡράκλιτ̣ο̣ς̣ τοπάρχ̣\η̣/(ς) καὶ κατασπορε(ὺς) Διοσκ̣[ου-]
ρίδηι καὶ τοῖ[ς] μετόχοις χαίρ⟨ε⟩ιν. μετρ̣[ήσ(ατε)]
εἰ⟨ς⟩ σπέρματ[α δάνε]ια τοῦ εἰ[ς] τὸ κγ (ἔτος)
Καίσαρος σ[πόρου ε]ἰς τὰς σεσημμαμ-
5 μένας ὑπὸ [τοῦ κ]ωμογραμματ[έ]ως
τῆς κώμ[ης ....]ανοσκο....[...]
περὶ Το[ο]ὺ εἰς [ἃ]ς [γεω]ρ̣γεῖ ἀπὸ βασιλικῆ(ς) γῆ(ς)
ἐ\κ/ (τοῦ) Πτολ[εμαίου] κλ̣[(ήρου)] ἀρο(ύρας) γ καὶ ἐ\κ/ (τοῦ) Πύθωνο(ς) β
(γίν.) ε (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ε καὶ εἰς ἃς ἔχει κατοικικ̣ὰ̣ς̣ [ἐκ (τοῦ)]
10 Σεύθ(ου) ἀρο(ύρας) [.....].( ) σ̣εδ.....[.......]
---------------------------
---------------------------
κειμένα̣ς [πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ]
(ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Τῦβι [

1 -σπορε 3 L 7 -κ γ 8 αρο 9 / 10 σευθ αρο 12 L

4–5 *l.* σεσημασμένας.
10 Σεύθ(ου): Cf. P. Flor. 385.39; PSI 687.4.
11–12 The texture of the papyrus, the color of the ink, the left margin – as much as is preserved of it – would all seem to indicate that this fragment belongs here. However, here where one expects a different hand, the writing seems to be identical with that of the foregoing order.

Translation

Heraklitos, *toparch* and *katasporeus*, to Dioskurides and his colleagues, greetings. Measure out in loans of seed grain for sowing in the 23rd year of Caesar, for the plots of royal land which he farms around Tou indicated by the village scribe of the village ... : from the former holding of Ptolemaios, 3 aruras; from the former holding of Python, 2 aruras, equals 5 aruras, makes 5 (artabs) of wheat ... and for the *catoecic* land from the former holding of Seuthes, ... aruras ... Year 23 of Caesar, Tybi ....

## 2562

P. 25189 — Herakleopolites
10 x 12.3 cm.; 9.8 x 14.5 cm. — 8/7

Margins: upper 6.8 cm., left 4 cm. Like the foregoing examples, this papyrus has been reconstructed from numerous fragments yet still shows more lacunae than text. The script is cursively written in exceedingly fine, wispy traces. The same person also penned the main document in **2563**, **2564, 2568**, **2572**(?) and **2576** (?). Verso blank.

1 ['Ηράκλιτος] τοπάρχης καὶ κατασπορεὺς Διοσκου(ρίδῃ) καὶ
[τοῖς μετόχοι]ς σιτολόγοις Κόμα χ[(αίρειν)]. μετρή(σατε) 'Απολλ\ω/( )
[ ± 8 εἰς σπ]έ̣ρ̣(ματα) δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος
[ ].[
5 σ̣π̣[ό]ρ̣[ου ] .ισ[ ].[
περὶ ̓́Αγ\η/(μα) ..... 'Αχιλλέ\ω/(ς) π̣ρ̣[.].[ ].[ ]
ἀρουρ( ) μηL απ.η( ) ἐκ (τοῦ) Διοδ\ω/( ) [α]L (γίν.) ν, πυροῦ [ ]
κ..[ ](γίν.)(ἀρτ.) ν. καὶ λάβετε παρ' αὐ[τοῦ τὰς καθηκ(ούσας)]
χειρογραφίας.
(*m. alt.*)
10 'Ηράκλιτος τοπάρχ\η/(ς) καὶ κατασπορεύ(ς). μέτρ\η/(σον)
τ̣ὰ̣[ς προκ]ε̣ι̣μ̣[ένας] πυροῦ ἀρτά[β(ας) πεντ]ή[κ]ο̣ντα (γίν.) [(πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ν]
]..[
[(ἔτους)] κγ Καίσ̣[αρος



1-κ 2 μετρ 3 L 5 6 αρουρ μηL , L / ν 7 / 8 L 9 -σπορε

6 ̓́Αγ\η/(μα): See **2370**.37 n., **2392**.2 n., BGU XIV, pp. 221f., P. Hels. I 6.2 n., 18.2 n., Falivene 206.
8 χειρογραφίας: See Wilcken, APF (1903) 46.1; Seidl, Eid I, 69ff.; and Taubenschlag, Sale 516.31, on these "written imperial oaths."

Translation

(Heraklitos), *toparch* and *katasporeus*, to Dioscurides and (his colleagues), *sitologoi* of Koma, greetings. Measure out to Apollo- ... 50 artabs in seed loan for the 23rd year of Caesar ... near Agema ... 48 1/2 aruras, ... from the former holding of Diodo-, 1 1/2 aruras, total 50. Take from him (the accustomed) written imperial oaths.
Heraklitos, *toparch* and *katasporeus*. Measure out the aforesaid fifty artabs of wheat, total (50 art. of wheat) ... (Year 23) of Caesar ....

## 2563

P. 25190 — Herakleopolites
22.2 x 17 cm. — 8/7

Margins: left 5 cm., upper 1.8 cm., lower 7 cm. *Kollesis* almost flush with the right edge. The main document is written in a fluid cursive script, similar to the one on **2567**. The countersigning is done in a more angular style reminiscent of the hand that wrote **2560** and **2561**. Verso blank.

['Ηράκλιτος τοπάρχης και κατασπ]ορεὺς
Διοσκ[ο]υ̣[ρίδ]ηι και τ[οῖ]ς μετόχοις σιτολ[ό]γ̣[οι]ς
Κόμα χ(αίρειν). μετρ\ή/(σατε) 'Ηρα\κ/( ) Πετε\χ/( ) εἰς σπέρμα(τα)
δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ κγ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπόρου ε̣[ἰς ἃς]
5 [σεση(μ.) ὑπὸ ]τ̣ης Κ[.]. κ(ωμο)γ̣ρ(αμματέως) γεω(ρ)γ(εῖ) περὶ Κόμα
β̣α̣σ̣(ιλ.)
γ̣ῆ̣ς α̣ρ̣\ο̣/() ἐ\κ/ (τοῦ) 'Αγαθ..( ) (ἀ̣ρ̣ο̣ύ̣ρ̣α̣ς̣) βL (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβα(ς)
δύο ἥ[μι]συ (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) βL. καὶ λάβετε παρ' αὐτού
τὰς καθηκού(σας) χει(ρογραφίας).

(ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος [ ]

10 (*m.2*) μετρή(σατε) τὰς προκειμένας πυροῦ ἀ[ρτάβας]
δύο ἥμισυ (γίν.) (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) βL (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος 'Α[θὺρ ..]

3 χ̄ μετρ̄ , σπερμ̄ 4 L 5 … 6 αρταβ 7/… 8 -ηκ χει 9 L 10 μετ̄

11/… , L

3–4 εἰς σπέρμα(τα) δάνεια: Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 73, discusses the regional variants in this formula.
5 Cf. **2570**.7: ]οτης Κομα κωμογρα[.
6 The abbreviated word between γῆς and ἐκ still defies all attempts at a satisfactory decipherment. It seems to be the same configuration used in **2575**.3 for (μέτρ)η(σον) and in **2562**.6 for Ἄγ\η/(μα).
7 λάβετε κτλ.: Cf. Seidl, Eid I 69ff.
11 Apart from a few exceptions these orders were generally issued in Hathyr, as Schnebel 138 noted. P. Vindob. Tandem 9 and P. Köln 137 conform to this rule.

Translation

(Heraklitos, *toparch* and *katasporeus*), to Dioskurides and his colleagues, *sitologoi* of Koma, greetings. Measure out to Herak-, son of Pete-, two and a half artabs – $2^1/_2$ art. – in seed loans for sowing in the 23rd year of Caesar in the $2^1/_2$ aruras of royal land ... formerly belonging to Agath-, which, according to the village scribe of Koma, he farms near Koma, and take from him the accustomed written imperial oaths. Year 23 of Caesar ...
Measure out the aforementioned two and a half (artabs) of wheat, total $2^1/_2$ art. of wheat. Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr ....

## 2564

P. 25191 — Herakleopolites
13.8 x 14 cm. — 3/2?

Margins: upper 7.5 cm., left 3.5. *Kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge. Only the uppermost section of this seed order could be retrieved from the mass of fragments. The script is similar to, but not quite the same as, those of the aforegoing two documents. Verso blank.

Δημήτριος τοπάρχης και κατασπορεὺς
Διοσκ\ου/(ρίδη) καί τοῖς μετόχοις σιτολόγοις
[Κ]όμα χ(αίρειν). μετρ\ή/(σατε) συνεπιστέ(λλοντος) τοῦ β(ασ.) γρ(αμματέως)
[.....]μ̣ṿ π̣α̣τ̣ρ̣[
5 [ ? εἰς τὸ κη (ἔτος)] Καί[.]..[

2-… 3 … , μετρ̄ , -επι… …

1 Δημήτριος: Cf. **2565.1, 2571, 2573.**
2 Cf. **2427**.6 for parallels to this constellation of *omicron* and *upsilon*.



3 συνεπιστέ(λλοντος) τοῦ β(ασιλικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως): Cf. **2565**.3.
4 ]μ̣γ̣ι̣ or ]α̣γ̣ι̣ ? Παπ̣[ or Πα̣τ̣υ̣[?: The farmer to whom the seed grain is being dispensed; cf. **2565**.4.

Translation

Demetrios, *toparch* and *katasporeus*, to Dioskurides and his colleagues, *sitologoi* of Koma, greetings. Measure out in accordance with the corresponding orders of the royal scribe ....

## 2565

P. 25192 — Herakleopolites
14.8 x 8.5; 9.8 x 6.7; 2.2 x 2.2 cm. — 3/2

Margins: upper 3, lower 4.5 cm. Another pastiche of numerous, thick, coarse fragments. The script of the main document is a practiced, fluid cursive written in thick strokes. It may be the same as in the main documents **2569** and **2571**; it is definitely the same as that of **2573**. The countersigning hand is more angular, similar to the one that wrote **2560** and **2561**. Verso blank.

Δημήτρι[ος τοπά]ρ̣χ̣η̣ς̣ καὶ [κατασπορεὺς]
Διοσκ\ου/(ρίδῃ) καὶ τοῖς μετό[χοις χα(ίρειν).]
μετρ\ή/(σατε) συνεπιστ(έλλοντος) τοῦ βα(σιλ.) γρ(αμ.) Ἀδρ̣[
...( ) Ἄπιος τῶν ἀ[π]ὸ Πε̣εναμοι [εἰς σπέρματα]
5 δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ κη (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπ[όρου
traces κ(ωμο)γρ(αμματεως) γε\ωρ/(γεῖ) ιβ[.]..[ ]
[ ]ησφ\υ/( ) ἐκ (τοῦ) Ἀπολλ\ω̣/(νίου) β α.[
[Κ]ά̣στορος α (γίν.) (ἄρου.) ι̣ς̣ ...[
---------------------------
---------------------------
].κ̣ου() .[
10 καθηκούσα]ς̣ χ̣ε̣ι̣ρ̣ο̣γ̣ρ̣α̣φ̣[ίας. (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος

(*m. alt.*)] προκειμένας π[υροῦ ἀρτάβας
]. (γίν.) .. ε̣ (ἔτους) κ̣η̣ Καί[σαρος

2-… 3 μετρ̄ , … 5 L 6 … 7 … 8 | 9 … 12/…

3 Pap. συνεπιστ ¯
4 Πο̣εναμοι?: Cf. **1849**.6: Ποεναμις; **2429**.2: Πεεναμις; **2437**.4; P. Hels. I 16 A 28: Πεενσαμοι – all quite similar to, but none exactly the same as, this name.
7 κώμ]ης Φῦ(ς) ?

9f. The spatial relationship of this fragment to the main text is uncertain, since the readings of the first two lines are not entirely satisfactory. The same configuation in line 9 here can be seen in **2571**.1 where its interpretation presents no problem. Here, however, one is not prepared for so much space between the two words καθηκού(σας) χειρογραφίας.

Translation

Demetrios, *toparch* and (*katasporeus*), to Dioskurides and his colleagues, (greetings). Measure out in accordance with the corresponding order of the royal scribe, to Adrastos (?), son of Apis, one of the inhabitants of Peenamoi, (for the seed) loans for the 28th year of Caesar for the sowing ... (indicated by) the village scribe (for the ... aruras which) he farms (near the village) of Phys (?): 2 aruras from the former holding of Apollonios, ..., 1 from the former holding of Kastor, total 16 aruras ... (the accustomed imperial) written oaths. (Year 28 of Caesar ...) ... the aforementioned ... (artabs of wheat) ... Year 28 of Caesar ....

## 2566

P. 25193 — Herakleopolites
6.5 x ll cm. — Nov. 26, 3

Margins: left 2–2.5, lower 2.5, right 0.7 cm. Only the lowermost section of this document is preserved. The script is a jagged, angular one. Verso blank.
Since this document was written in the 28th year of Augustus, the same Demetrios as in **2565** was responsible for issuing it.

---------------------------
παρ' α̣[ὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκούσας χειρογραφίας.]
μετρή̣σατε τάς προκειμέν[ας]
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ
τέσσαρες, ὀλύρης ἀρτάβας τρι-
5 άκοντα (γίν.) (πυρ.) πδ, ὀλ(ύρας) λ
(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Ἁθὺρ λ̄

4 *l.* ὀλύρας. Cf. **2391**.4 n.
6 The *eta* has been written over. Either the scribe mistakenly started writing *kappa* or else the first *eta* was too faint, and he decided to rewrite it in darker strokes.

Translation

... from him the accustomed written imperial oaths. Measure out the aforesaid eighty-four artabs of wheat and the thirty artabs of caffre-corn (Indian millet), total 84 art. of wheat, 30 art. of caffre-corn. Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 30.



## 2567

P. 25194 — Herakleopolites
13 x 18 cm. — Dec. 2, 5

Margins: left 4, lower 7, right 1–5.5 cm. Coarse, light brown papyrus with a strip of vertical fibers 3.5 cm. wide pasted onto the right; the line ends run onto it. The first hand is similar to the first one of **2563.** Verso blank.

------------------------------
(ἔτους) λε Καίσαρος Χοι/(ὰκ) ς¯

(*m. alt.*) Πολυδεύκῃ γραμματ⟨ε⟩ῖ. ἐπισταλή-
τω τὴν προκειμένην πυροῦ
ἀρτάβην μίαν (γίν.) (πυρ. ἀρτ.) α. (ἔτους) λε̣ Καίσαρος Χοι/(ὰκ) ς̄

Translation

Year 35 of Caesar, Choiak 6.
To Polydeukes, scribe. Send the aforementioned one artab of wheat, total 1 artab. Year 35 of Caesar, Choiak 6.

## 2568

P. 25435 — Herakleopolites
14.7 x 7 cm. — 8/7

Margins: lower 6.7 cm. Coarse, light brown papyrus. Verso blank.
The same hand that wrote the main text of **2563** also wrote the main body of this document. The last two lines were written by the same person who countersigned in **2563** and are similar to the script of the main documents in **2560** and **2561**. Since it was written in Augustus's 23rd year, Heraklitos was the official responsible for issuing it.

(*m.1*) ] traces
]. traces
]. π[υρ]οῦ ἀρτ̣ά̣β̣(ας) δ̣έ̣κ̣α
] καὶ λάβετε παρ' α[ὐτο]ῦ̣ τὰς

5 καθη]κ̣\ού/(σας) χειρ̣ο̣γρ(αφίας)
] (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Ἁ̣θ̣(ὺρ) ιβ̄
(*m.2*) ] π̣ρ̣ο̣κειμένας
] δέ[κα] (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Ἁ̣θ̣(ὺρ) ιθ̣¯

5 καθηκ χειρογρ 6 L 8 αθ

8 ιθ̣¯or ιδ̣ ?: *Gamma* it is definitely not; perhaps *delta*. An interval of two days would be more in keeping with the practice of countersigning these orders relatively soon after they had been issued; an interval of a week would be highly unusual.

Translation

... ten artabs of wheat ... and take from him the accustomed imperial written oaths. Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr 12 ... the aforementioned ten (artabs of wheat). Year 23 of Caesar, Hathyr 19 (?).

## 2569

P. 25436 Herakleopolites
14.7 x 15.5 cm. Nov. 25, 26, 3

Margins: right 2, lower 5.5 cm. One *kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge and another 0.8 cm. from the right – although the possibility that the latter is simply another layer of the cartonnage cannot be excluded.
This document was written during Demetrios's administration by the same person who wrote **2571**. The same person countersigned here as in **2563** and maybe in **2571**.

---------------------------

(*m.1*) συνε]π̣ι̣σ̣(τέλλ.) βα(σ.) γρ(αμματέως) .[
K]όμα δ ἅπερ ἐκ (τοῦ ) Επιαραλ.[
ἀρούρ]ας ιε (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) δεκαπέντε (γίν.) (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ιε (γίν.) κ̣ε̣
[..... καὶ] λάβ[ετε] π̣[α]ρ̣' αὐτῶν τὰς [κ]αθ̣η̣κού(σας)
5 [χ]ειρ..[ ]

(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Ἁθὺρ κ̄θ

(*m.2*) μετρήσατε τὰς προκειμένας πυροῦ
ἀρτάβας εἴκοσι πέντε [(γίν.) (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.)] κε
(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Ἁθὺρ λ̄

1-πσ τ 2 3 , / , / 4-θη 6 L 9 L



Translation

(Measure out in accordance with the) corresponding orders of the royal scribe ... Koma, 4 (aruras), from the former holding of Epiaral- ..., total 15 aruras, fifteen artabs of wheat, total 15 artabs of wheat, all told 25 (artabs of wheat). Take from him the accustomed written imperial oaths. Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 29.
Measure out the aforementioned twenty-five artabs of wheat, (total) 25 (artabs of wheat). Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 30.

## 2570

P. 25437 Herakleopolites
14.7 x 7 cm. 8/7

Margins: upper 3, left 1.7, lower 3 cm. The writing is similar to that of **2560** and **2561**. Verso blank.

Ἡ̣ρά̣κ̣λ̣ι̣[τος το]πάρχ̣η̣[ς καὶ κατασπορεὺς]
[Δ]ι̣ο̣σ̣[κουρί]δ̣η̣ι κ[αὶ τοῖς μετόχοις]
traces
traces
5 Κεφαλαῖς εἰ⟨ς⟩ σπέρμ[ατα δάνεια τοῦ εἰς τὸ τρίτον]
καὶ εἰκοστὸν (ἔτος) Καίσαρ̣[ος σπόρου εἰς τὰς σεσημασμένας ὑπ-]
ὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ τῆς Κόμα κωμογρα[μματέως ± 13 ]
τοὺς περὶ Κόμα ἀπὸ βασιλι̣[κῆς γῆς ± 10 ]
[κ]αὶ 'Απολλοδώρου γῆς ἀρο[ύρας ± 8 ]
10 (γίν.)(πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ς. καὶ λαβὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ [τὰς καθηκούσας]
χ⟨ε⟩ιρογραφίας.
(ἔτους) κγ Καίσ̣[αρος

6L 10 / 11 L

5 Κεφαλαῖς: Cf. **2599**.5 and P. Hib. 71.7 for this village. The dative is perplexing; according to the syntax in **2565**.4, one would expect τῶν ἀπὸ] Κεφαλῶν. Cf. **2326.**10n. (ref. thanks to R. Falivene).
6–7 The parallels do not offer anything really satisfactory for filling out the lacuna here. Cf. **2563**.5 where the same construction may have once stood.

Translation

Heraklitos, *toparch* and *katasporeus*, to Dioskurides (and his colleagues, *sitologoi*, greetings. Measure out to N.N., an inhabitant of the village of) Kephalai, six artabs of wheat, total 6 artabs, for seed (loans for sowing the plots) of royal (land ...) and

from (the land formerly) belonging to Apollodoros (indicated by?) the village scribe of (the village of) Koma in the twenty-(third) year of Caesar, and take from him (the customary) written oaths. Year 23 of Caesar ....

## 2571

P. 25438 — Herakleopolites
8.3 x 12.5 cm. — Nov. 25, 3

Margins: left 3.5, lower 3.2 cm. *Kollesis* 2.3 cm. from the left.

---------------------------
(*m.1*) τὰς καθηκ[\ού/(σας)] χειρογρ[αφίας
(ἔτους) κη Καίσ[αρος
(*m.2*) Δημήτριος τοπάρχη[ς. μέ-]
τρησον τὰς προκειμ[ένας]
5 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας τ[ριάκ]οντα
(γίν.) (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) λ (ἔτους) κη Κα[ίσα]ρος Ἁθὺρ κ̄θ

2 L 6 ... , L

3f. The same person as in **2569** and **2563** may have countersigned here; however, the pen strokes here are much thicker.

Translation
... the customary written oaths. Year 28 of Caesar ...
Demetrios, *toparch*. Measure out the aforementioned thirty artabs of wheat, total 30 artabs. Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 29.

## 2572

P. 25439 — Herakleopolites
8.3 x 8.3; 2.5 x 2.3; 3.3 x 2 cm. — 6/5

---------------------------
αμ.πρ[..].[
κε (ἔτους) Καίσαρος [
Ἄγ\η/(μα) κω(μο)γρ(αμματέως) ἃς γε[ωργεῖ
ἐκ (τοῦ) Βοήθου β (ἥμισυ) [
5 παρ' αὐτ[οῦ τὰς καθηκούσας χειρογραφίας]
~



(*m.2*) με[τρήσ]ατε τὰς προκειμ[ένας
]οντα
-------------------

2 L 3 ... 4 ... βοηθ ... βL

Translation
... the 25th year of Caesar, ... which, according to the village scribe of Koma, (he farms) ... from the former holding of Boethos $2^1/_2$ aruras ... (and take) from him (the accustomed written imperial oaths ...)
Measure out the aforementioned ....

## 2573

P. 25440 — Herakleopolites
11 x 14; 7.2 x 12.8 cm. — Nov. 26, 3

Margins: upper 5.5, left 3.7, lower 6.2 cm.
Same hand as **2564**. Since the *toparch* Demetrios appears in **2565**, **2571** and **2573**, one can date this papyrus to the 28th year of Augustus with reasonable confidence.

Δημήτριος τοπάρχης καὶ κατασ[πορεὺς]
Διοσκ\ου/(ρίδῃ) καὶ τοῖς μετόχοις σ[ιτολόγοις]
Κόμα χ(αίρειν). μετρ\ή/(σατε) σ[υ]νεπι[(στέλλοντος) τοῦ β(ασ.)
γρ(αμ.)...()]
Ἰμ\ού/(θου) εἰς σπ[έ]ρμα[τα
---------------------------
---------------------------
5 (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρ]ος Ἁθὺρ λ̣

2 διοσ ... 3 ... μετρ ... 4 ιμ ...

Translation
Demetrios, *toparch* and *katasporeus*, to Dioskurides and colleagues, (*sitologoi*) of Koma, greetings. Measure out, in accordance with the corresponding order (of the royal scribe, ...) to Imuthes, for the seed ... Year 28 of Caesar, Hathyr 30.

## 2574

P. 25441 Herakleopolites
19 x 6.7 cm.

Margins: right 0.7; lower 9 cm.

---------------------------
] σπόρ[ου εἰ]ς ἃς γε\ω/(ργεῖ)
]πα.. φθο\λ/( ) (ἄρουραν ) α
]. παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς καθηκ\ού/(σας)
Καίσα]ρος Ἁθὺρ κ̄η̄
5 (*m. alt.*) ] προκειμένην
] μ̣ί̣αν (γίν.)(πυρ.) α
] Ἁθὺρ κθ

1 γε̄ 2 ⟨ 3 -θηκ̆ 6 /

1 *l.* εἰ]ς ἥν.
6 *l.* (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβην).

Translation

... for sowing in the (... year of Caesar) on the 1 arura which he farms ... Pthol( ) ... (and take) from him the accustomed (written imperials oaths. Year ... of Caesar), Hathyr 28.
(Measure out) the aforementioned one artab (of wheat), total 1 art. of wheat. (Year ... of Caesar), Hathyr 29.

## 2575

P. 25442 Herakleopolites
8.4 x 8 cm. 6/5

Margins: left 2 cm., upper 1.5, lower 1 cm.

Ạρ̣[ ]..[
Πλ̣η̣[.] Πεναρπο\χ/(ράτου) καὶ το̣[ῖς μετό(χ.) σιτόλ(ογ.) ....]
κώμη(ς). (μέτρ)\η/(σον) εἰς σπέρμ(ατα) [δάνεια τοῦ]
εἰς τὸ κε̣ (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπόρου [
5 ]. ἐκ (τοῦ) Ἡλιο̣[
] παρ᾽ αὐτ[οῦ
---------------------------



3 , σπερμ̄ 4 5

2 Παπ[?
3 (μέ̣τρ)η(σον): The abbreviation here looks much like the one used to abbreviate Agema in **2562**.5 and the one still unresolved in **2563**.6.

Translation

... to Ple-, son of Penharpochrates and (colleagues, *sitologoi*) of the village (of ...). Measure out for the seed (loans) of grain for sowing in the 25th year of Caesar ... from the former holding of Helio- ... and take from him ...

## 2576

P. 25443 Herakleopolites
10.3 x 3.2 cm.

Broken off an all sides except the right one where there is a *kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the edge and a negligible margin.

-----------------------------------------------------
[ ] μετρ\η/( ) συν-
[επιστέλ(λοντος) ] .\ω/( ) καὶ
[ ].( ) Ἀσφε͡\ω/(ς) καὶ
[ ]...( ) τῶν ἀπὸ
5 [ ] δάν̣[ει]α τοῦ
[εἰς τὸ .. (ἔτος) Καίσαρος σπόρου] εἰς ἃς γε\ω/(ργεῖ)
[ ] (γίν.)(πυρ. ἀρτ.) δέκα
[καὶ λαβὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ] traces [
------------------------------

1 -τρ 4 7 /

Translation

... Measure out, (in accordance with the orders of the ...) ... Aspheus and ... (for the seed) loans (of grain for sowing in the ... year of Caesar) in the ... (aruras of land) which he farms ... total ten artabs of wheat. (Take from him) ...

# 2577
## Tax List

P. 25161

Herakleopolites
30 B.C. –14 A.D.

See Life 41–43 where this document is briefly discussed.
Five non-contiguous fragments 14–19 cm. high and 25–52 cm. wide, constituting the upper part of a papyrus roll, are extant. All told the remaining portion of the roll measures *ca.* 160 cm. in length. Since only the uppermost portion of the roll is preserved, its exact height must remain a matter for speculation; ditto for its original length. Altogether there are 29 columns and 526 lines.
Fg. A: 14.8 x 52.5 cm.; upper margin 2–2.5 cm.; intercolumnar spaces 1.5 cm. *Kolleseis* 8.5 cm. from the right; another 17 cm. to the left of that one; another 17 cm. to the left of that one. A strip of papyrus 13 x 0.8 cm. has been glued diagonally across the tops of columns V and VI (= lines 52 and 67 which have been written over it).
Fg. B: 19 x 40.5 cm; margins: upper 2.5, left 3 cm.; intercolumnar spaces 1.5–2.5 cm. *Kollesis*: 2 cm. from the right; 18 cm. to the left of that one.
Fg. C: 19.4 x 25.6 cm; margins: left 2.5 cm, upper 2.5–3.5 cm, right 0.8; intercolumnar spaces 1–1.5 cm. *Kollesis*: 10 cm. from the left.
Fg. D: 22.7 x 42.7 cm; margins: upper 1.5; intercolumnar spaces: 1.5 cm. *Kolleseis*: 7.5 cm. from the left edge; another 17.5 cm. to the right of that. Another 17.5 cm. to the right of that one must have followed. However, on the right the vertical fibers have disappeared, thus leaving a section consisting solely of horizontal fibers which would have overlapped the succeeding sheet, producing a three-layer join (cf. R. Coles, P. Harris II 212, introd.).
Fg. E: 20 x 25.7 cm.; margins: upper 1.5, left 3.5, right 2.7 cm.; intercolumnar spaces ±1 cm. *Kolleseis*: 5.5 cm. from the left; another 17.5 cm. to the right of that.
The order of the major fragments A – C results from various internal chronological data. Fg. A preserves portions of the descriptive heading for the whole document. Phaophi in the first line there is undoubtedly the first month for which tallies are recorded in the ensuing lines up to l. 117. The first entries on Fg. B (118–194) must obviously be for the month Hathyr, since Choiak (l. 199) heads the subsequent listing extending to the end of the fragment. Tybi is in the first line of fragment C = l.214, hence placing it immediately after Fg. B. The two remaining fragments cannot be assigned with certainty to any place in the roll. However, since Fg. D includes mostly amounts of four drachmas it might originally have belonged to Fg. A. Fg. E recording amounts of two drachmas probably belonged to Fg. C.
Provenance: The only concrete internal evidence for the provenance is in l. 203 where a tally involving the gymnasiarchs of the metropolis is recorded. The external evidence is circumstantial. Since most of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman



papyri in the Berlin collection (extricated from cartonnage coffins found by the excavators in Abusir el-Melek, site of the ancient Busiris), come from there, the Herakleopolite nome can be posited with reasonable assurance as provenance of this text. While it turned out that some of the papyri were written in Alexandria (**1050–1060**, **1098–1184**, *synchoreseis* contracts, for the most part), most of the documents from the Abusir el-Melek find derive from closer to home. Further possible internal supporting evidence are two putative *Herkunftsbezeichnungen* in the text itself: l. 72: Κρηκίτης; l. 80: Ὀννίτης for citizens of Krekis (BGU XIV 2437.44; 2439.20,62) and Onne (*ibid.*, 2370.82.86, 2440.44) respectively, both villages in the Herakleopolite nome. The presence of these indications of origin in a list otherwise devoid of such indications implies that these men are registered as inhabitants of their respective home villages residing temporarily for one reason or another somewhere else (presumably in the metropolis, Herakleopolis).
Dating: The document commences with a heading of several lines undoubtedly once indicating the function and purpose of the ensuing listing. Καίσαρος, obviously referring to Augustus, appears in this heading. However, the papyrus is broken off on the left, and the heading is otherwise so lacunose that the exact year and date are forever lost and irretrievable. Since most of the cartonnage documents from Augustan Herakleopolis date from the 20s B.C., one can tentatively place this list within that period. A further criterion for the dating is the paleography. The writing shows striking similarities to the *Laterculi Alexandrini* (published by H. Diels, Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss., Berlin 1904, with facsimile) but is somewhat more crude and cursive, befitting its documentary character. The same person who was responsible for this roll may have also penned another tax list in the Berlin collection (**2674**). Alongside some of the entries on the left is a diagonal stroke or blot of ink, presumably a check mark of some sort.
Since the beginning of this account with its heading is so fragmentary and the end (which might have contained itemized summaries) is entirely missing, it is difficult to posit any but the most general statement about its character and purpose. In all likelihood the list once constituted a month-by-month, day-by-day, and even morning-to-evening, κατ' ἄνδρα (exclusively male) list of tax-payers for probably the nome capital Herakleopolis. Each tax-payer is identified by name and (sometimes) father's name, or failing that, his profession (for cross-reference in a list of tax-payers according to occupation ?) and the amount he has paid (or is expected to pay?) on an unknown tax. (See most recently R. Bogaert, ZPE 79, 1989, 207–226, for the *status quaestionis* on the function of tax lists in Roman Egypt). The multifarious occupations and professions standing in lieu of the father's name reflect all levels of society; for example, line 14 τέκτων, 30 σιτομέτρης, 43 ἱπποκόμος, 47 λίνυφος, 48 γναφεύς, 49 λαχανοπώλης, 51 αὐλητής, 57 παστοφόρος, 58 ἡπητής, 59 ὀνηλάτης, 71 οἰκοδόμος, 77 ποιμήν, 83 γέρδις, 84 χρυσοχοῦς, 110 ταριχευταί, 161, 427 χαλκεύς, 293 γρ(αφεύς), 313 ἰατρός, 323 κεραμεύς, 370 σκυτεύς. (See H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, Griech. Texte IX, pp. 49–173, for these trades and occupations.)

While the criteria are most tenuous and any thesis built upon them highly liable to collapse, I would like suggest that the present tax list might record payments on the capitation-tax (*laographia*) in Herakleopolis in the early years of Augustus's reign. It is particularly regrettable that the date is lost, since this list might have been one of the earliest attestations to the capitation-tax in Roman Egypt. Although not a single word in the whole document gives the slightest clue as to which tax is involved here, the fact that the names are all masculine and the fact that so many occupations are indicated remind one of the capitation-tax lists in the Princeton and Cornell collections.

The sole reference to the *laographia* in the Herakleopolite nome during the entire Roman occupation of Egypt has heretofore been another Abusir el-Melek cartonnage document, **1198** (Busiris, 5/4 A.D.), wherein four priests complain that they have been charged 16 dr. apiece for the *laographia*. Hence, our knowledge of this tax in this area is just about nil.

The ethnic interest of this tax list lies in ll. 214–216. This sub-heading for the subsequent roster divides the civil population of the political entity involved into *catoecs*, Greeks and Egyptians: Τῦβι ἄλλης λογηας (*l.* -ίας) (δρ.) ι / κατοίκων καὶ Ἑλλήνων / καὶ Αἰγυπτίων. The indication of ten drachmas is obscure, since none of the succeeding payments in the ensuing 60-some lines ever exceeds one or two drachmas. One possibility is to assume that the ten drachmas represent the total sum assessed upon each individual for that year. Another is to associate this amount with the following word and assume the presence of 10–drachma-*catoecs* in the early Augustan Herakleopolite nome. However, in that case, one would expect ι (δρ.) κατοίκων and not (δρ.) ι κατοίκων. (10-drachma-*catoecs* are otherwise attested only once in **118** [Arsinoe, 189 A.D.], regarding which Wallace, Taxation 409.40, says, "There is certainly no indication of a 10 dr. rate of poll-tax in the Arsinoite nome.")

According to O. Montevecchi, Aegyptus 50 (1970) 23, *catoecs* in Roman Egypt are by and large an Arsinoite phenomenon, with relatively few coming from the Hermupolite nome (P. Sarap.) where the designation seems to be more general and equivalent with γεοῦχος (Méautis, Hermoupolis-La-Grande, Lausanne 1918, 65.1; J. Schwartz, P. Sarap. 24.12 n.). So far only one *catoec* is attested in the Herakléopolite nome (P. Oslo. 98: 131/132 A.D.) where the designation seems to have a connotation similar to that of the Arsinoite occurrences. According to the entries in lines 214–216, the *catoecs* in the Herakleopolite nome of the early Augustan era are clearly distinguished from the rest of the population consisting of Greeks and Egyptians. However, in the ensuing list of names no attempt is otherwise made at designating who is *catoec* and who is not. Neither does there seem to be any distinguishing feature between the people paying one and those paying two drachma installments on their taxes.

While Wallace, Taxation, argues for the *catoecs*' poll-tax liability, C. Nelson, Status Declarations in Roman Egypt (= ASP 19), Amsterdam 1979, 38, argues for their exemption. Since, however, the pitifully few documents shedding any light on the issue derive from the Arsinoite nome and date, generally speaking, several centuries later, they afford no help at all in deciding the status of the *catoecs* here in the early Augustan Herakleopolite nome and whether they were totally or partially exempt from the poll-tax.



Hence, the questions and issues this new tax list raises are for the most part *imponderabilia*: what is the status of these early Roman *catoecs*? Is it the same as the Ptolemaic *catoecs* or has Augustus already changed it by this time? What is the difference between the catoecs and the Greeks? Why are all these three lumped here together in one category (if there is no difference among the three in the end, why bother to make the distinction at all? Unless they are all lumped together here as payers of the poll-tax regardless of the rate). What was the poll-tax in the early Augustan era? Were there privileged classes either partially or entirely exempt from paying the *laographia*? (Cf. CPR VIII 20, a letter of unknown provenance from the 3rd c. A.D., which mentions Alexandrians, Romans, and *catoecs*.)

Onomasticians should take note of this list, for alongside its intriguing, but unfortunately all-too-fragmentary mention of *catoecs*, Greeks and Egyptians in Herakleopolis, it presents us with some 70 names heretofore unattested (indicated by an asterisk*), thus providing a rich, new, source of material on nomenclature in the early Augustan Herakleopolite nome. It is amusing to see alongside such obviously Egyptian, and for the accountant indeclinable, names as Otokulis (l.45) or Tualis (l. 128) such stolid and venerable Greek names as Polydeukes (l. 53), Kastor (l. 222), Orpheus (l. 232), Diomedes (l. 137), Poliantes (l. 418), and even an Achilleus, son of Atreus (l. 518). In l. 419 is Ammenneus, son of Pindar - Pindar in the tax-rolls! Sometimes (for example, ll. 72, 425, 517) the names give the impression of being feminine: Thnais, Thinochis, Theanubestis. Women are, however, nowhere attested as *laographia*-taxpayers. Provided that this list records poll-tax payers, these names are most likely those of men. Cf. such similar, apparently feminine names borne by men in P. Princeton 10 III 14: Taanouphis, son of Petemunis, 10 IV 23: Athenais, son of Heracles. See Pestman, Choachytes, pp. 485ff., on the Greek declensions of Egyptian names.

Literature on the *laographia* includes: Wallace, Taxation 116–134; *id.*, "Census and Poll-Tax in Ptolemaic Egypt," AJPh 59 (1938) 418–442; E. Kiessling, Congr. 5, 223ff.; C. Préaux, L'économie lagide, Brussels 1939, 381f.; *ead.*, O. Wilbour, pp. 28–33; H. Bell, JRS 37 (1947) 12–23; H. Braunert, JJP 9/10 (1956) 302–305; V. Tcherikover, JJP 4 (1950) 187.19–20; D. Hobson, BASP 14 (1977) 129f.; *ead.*, Congr. 17, vol. III, 855; C. Tsiparis, O. Lund 4; P. Harris 199; K. Goudriaan, Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt, Amsterdam 1989, 14; C. Gallazzi, O. Tebt., pp. 4–7; D. Samuel, Congr. 16, 389–403; S. Omar, Congr. 18, vol. II 287–291; J. Shelton, P. Brooklyn 34 introd. On *catoecs*, see D. Canducci, Aegyptus 70 (1990) 211–255.

Various techniques are employed to indicate abbreviated names or words. 1) Supra-script letter. Names with *omega* in them such as Apollo-, Choros and Petechon are written up to the *omega* which is then placed over the preceding letter. 2) Simple omission, e.g. ll. 46, 163, 165, 177, 187, 222, 227, 257, 258, 261, 279. 3) *Haken-*

*alpha*. This is by far the most common method of abbreviating anything and everything, even where the letter *alpha* is not even remotely concerned. Hence, in the transcription (where applicable), this has been rendered as *alpha*. Otherwise, it has been rendered as the rest of the name or noun in parentheses.

| | Col. I | |
|---|---|---|
| | ]. Καίσαρος Φαῶφι | ζ |
| | ]τ..ρ κατ[..] . | |
| | ]..[...].ου (δραχμ-) | δ |
| | ].[.....].ους | δ |
| | ].ς | |
| 5 | ] | |
| | ].ους | δ |
| | ]......ου | δ |
| | ] — | δ |
| | ].υτος | δ |
| 10 | ] | δ̣ |

| | Col. II | |
|---|---|---|
| | ζ ¯ | |
| | Παῆσις Χῶρος | δ |
| | υἱ(ὸς) Πετεν\χῶν/ αὐτὸ̣ς | δ |
| | Πετεχῶν/ τέκτων | δ |
| 15 | Ποκᾶς Πανβ[.( )] | δ |
| | Παντ.ψ̣ῆμις* | δ |
| | Ἡρώδης Ταχάι(τος) | δ |
| | Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Σενθέως | δ |
| | Ἡρακ[λ]ῆς Κορηοῦ(ς) | δ |
| 20 | Κ..[.]ο̣ρ Α̣ἰ̣ν̣ε̣το(ῦ) | δ |
| | Κολλού]θης Αλ̣ι̣τ̣αι* | δ |
| | ].. | δ |
| | ]ρου | δ |

| | Col. III | |
|---|---|---|
| | Ψενατῦμις Πανάις * | δ |
| 25 | Χῶρος Βεστηοῦς* | δ |
| | Λάτης Παρᾶτος | δ |
| | Κιλικᾶς | δ |
| | Ἀτρεὺς | δ |
| | Παταβα[* ] | δ |
| 30 | Ψενοβάστις σιτομέ\τ/(ρης) | δ |
| | Πνεορώτης* .[..]νιο( ) | δ |
| | .εσβισις* | δ |
| | Ἄδρα(στος) Λεωρμις* | δ |
| | [.]ω̣ς Ἀλεξάνδρο(υ) \ν̣ε̣ω̣τε(ρ-)/ | δ |
| 35 | Ψαῆ̣ρις Ψιτό̣ις* | δ |
| | ]..[ | |

| | Col. IV | |
|---|---|---|
| | Πόντος ἀδελφὸς | δ |
| | Ἄδραστ(ος) Στραβᾶς | δ |
| | Μικίων Ὡρίωνος | δ |
| 40 | Κ̣ι̣κιόις Μαρσύου | δ |
| | Ἡρόδοτος Πτολεμα( ) | δ |
| | Ὧρος Αρβωνύχου* | δ |
| | ].ς ἱπποκόμο(ς) | δ |
| | Πε̣τ̣ε̣ρ̣.ισβασις* | δ |
| 45 | Οτυκουλις* | δ |
| | Σαδάλας Κυτοῦ(ς) | δ |
| | Φομβῶς λίνυφος | δ |
| | Νουμᾶς γναφεὺς | δ |
| | Μαν\ρῆς/ λαχανοπώλης | δ |
| 50 | Ερκουρο̣[* | |



| | Col. V | |
|---|---|---|
| | Α.......ις αὐλητὴς | δ |
| | Πε....[ ] | δ |
| | Π[ολυ]δεύκης Απ[.]\ς̣/ | β |
| | Ὧρος [.].ανδαιτη[ ]* | β |
| 55 | Ἁρπαῆσις Πετεβεν(δήτιος) | δ |
| | Ψενοβάστις Ἀν̣ίκις* | δ |
| | Παῶντις παστοφόρο(ς) | δ |
| | Πα[.]ω̣ς ἠπητὴς | δ |
| | Εια[.]πις ὀνηλάτης | δ |
| 60 | Ἄδραστος Τνεορῶτος | δ |
| | Ἀμεννεῦς Ὥρου | δ |
| | Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Ἕρμωνος | δ |
| | Ἀμύντας Κελάδου | δ |
| | Ἀσφεὺς Ταψάιτος | δ |
| 65 | Πετεαρποχρά(της) Ἁρκοίριος* | [δ] |
| | traces | |

| | Col. VI | |
|---|---|---|
| | Ἄδραστος Θερμο[ ] | δ̣ |
| | Ἄδραστος Ἁρυσαη.[* | |
| | Φομβῶς Πολυδ[ ]. | δ̣ |
| 70 | Πετοσῖλις Κεφάλω[νο]ς̣ | δ |
| | Πνεορῶς* οἰκοδό(μος) | δ |
| | Θινῶχις* Κρηκίτη[ς] | δ |
| | Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Φομβῶς | δ |
| | Πετεμῖνις | δ |
| 75 | Ἁρῶ[θ]ις Νεχθεραῦτ(ος) | δ |
| | Θοτε̣ῦς | δ |
| | Ἀννιμο̣υς* | δ |
| | Χωθαμουνίου* | δ |
| | υειὸς | δ |
| 80 | Πετεβενδῆ(τις) Ὀννίτης | δ |
| | Π̣[ετ]εχῶν ...πηθι( ) | δ |
| | ]ενο[ς] Ζήνωνος | δ |
| | ].ς γέρδις | δ |

| | Col. VII | |
|---|---|---|
| | \θ/ Σωτήριχος χρυσοχοῦς | δ |
| 85 | Πιτῖς | δ |
| | Πετεαμουσακις* | δ |
| | Ὧρος τέκ[τ]ω̣[ν] | δ |
| | ..λεμᾶς | δ |
| | Ἡρωόδης Ἁρκοῖρις* | δ |
| 90 | Ἄδραστος Παρᾶτος | δ |
| | Λάτης ἀδελφὸς | δ |
| | Σιτόις Τεπαῦτος* | δ |
| | Χῶρος Παρμενίω(νος) | δ |
| | υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Ὥρου Ἀλεξάνδρο(υ) | δ |
| 95 | Πετεακης* Πάκις | δ |
| | Ἡρᾶς Βησᾶτος | δ |
| | Σενθεῦς Ἰχνολύκου* | δ |
| | υειὸς | |
| | Νουμῆνις Ῥοδίππ[(ου)] | β |
| | Κεφάλων [ | |
| 100 | [..]νγῶις* Ἰσίονος [ | |

| | Col. VIII | |
|---|---|---|
| | Ψενοβάστι[ς | |
| | υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Σωστράτου Νε[ | |
| | Ἡρώδης σχ̣ε̣δ̣ιαζου [ | |
| | Ἡρώδης Σενω.ης λι(νόυφος) | δ |
| 105 | Ὡρίων Κόνδωνος | δ |
| | υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Πάκις | δ |
| | Θέων γναφεὺς | δ |
| | / Γαλ̣έστης Ἀδράστ[ου] | δ |
| | Ανειμους* ποιμὴν | δ |
| 110 | ταριχευταὶ [ | |
| | Πλ̣η̣ρ̣[ι]ς̣ ποιμὴν [ | |
| | Ἀμμωνι[ς] αὐλητ̣[ὴς | |
| | *Αμαραρη[.....].[ | |
| | *Τουπαιβω̣[ | |
| 115 | Πακρης* Ψ[ | |
| | [.]ατρισ̣[ | |
| | ]..[ | |

(Fg. B) Col. IX
Χ\ῶ /(ρος) Ἀμμουνίου β
υεἱὸς β
120 Στίλβων β
υεἱὸς [.]
Γαβινις*
Φομβῶς α
Ἡρακλέων α
125 Ὧρος Κ[..]σάλου* β
ἀδελ[φὸ]ς β
Ζήνων Κίσσα α
Ἁτρῆς Τουαλις* α
Σαδάλας Κυτο(ῦς) β
130 ἀδελφὸς β
/ υἱὸς Ἀρτέμω(νος) [
Ἁρυώτας Ἁρυ[
].[

Col. X
Νέαρχος (δρ.) β
135 Ἀπολλ\ω/( ) χην β
Ἀσκλᾶς α
Διομήδης α
• Γαλέσθης Ἀδρά(στου) β
• υεἱὸς β
140 • ..μα\ω/( ) Ἀριστ\ω/( ) β
Δαμᾶς Πρι β
ἀδελφὸς β
Πτόλλις Καψ\ω/( )* α
Ἀμμοῦς Μαρ β
145 ]μαλχος α
]..ν β
].ως Ζη β
]ον( ) β
] α

Col. XI
150 Ἡρ\α/( ) Πίνις (δρ.) β
ἀδελφὸς β
• Παῶς ἡπη[τ(ὴς)] α
• Δράκων α
Ἀμεννεῦς β
155 • Ἄδρα(στος) Αραῆτος* β
Πτολλίων β
Ἁρυώτης Διο α
• Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Καθα β
υἱὸς Ταστόρμου * β
160 Ἄδρα(στος) Ἡρακλέων(ος) β
υεἱὸς β
Ἀμύντας α
Πύρων χαλ(κεὺς) β
ἀδελφὸς α
165 • Ἆπις ὀνηλά(της) β
υεἱὸς
υεἱὸς Ἀμεννεῦς α
Σωτήριχος Πρι(ρις) * β
υἱὸς Λοπασ.[.]* β
170 ἀδελφὸς β

Col. XII
Ἀνθαγόρας Ἧλι(ος) β
ὁ πατὴρ β
175 Παντοενβη(ς)* β
Ἄδρα(στος) Φιλίσκου β
Σωτήριχος χρυ(σοχοῦς) β
Ἁρπαῆσις Παρή(ους) β
Ἁρυώτης Κόσμο β
180 Ἁρμιῦσις γναφε(ὺς) β
υεἱὸς β
/ υἱὸς Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Ταπν( ) β
πρόγονος β
Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Καλαμ( ) β
185 • ἀδελφὸς α
• Ἴσοδαις α
Κολλούθης Ταλα α
Νεχθ εμβῆς β
Ονν.[ ].αν β
190 • Αραι( ) [ ] α
Χε.[
Κ..[
traces



Ψεν[ ]. traces
] β

Col. XIII
195 ὁμοίως τῷ αὐτῶι σὺν ὧν ἔχει
Ἀπολλ\ω/( ) ὧν ἀρ(γ.)(δρ.) πα
(γίν.) πα καὶ ..[
εἰς συνκεφαλωσιν τ (δρ.) η
(γίν.) ἀρ(γ.)(δρ.) φνε=
Χοιάκ
200 ἄλλης λογηας τῶν αὐτῶν
προκιμένων ἀνδρῶν
ἀρ(γ.) δραχ(μ-) τια ἀρ(γ.) φιε .
/γυμνασιαρχ\ω/( )μητροπόλεως ἀρ(γ.)τ
ἐλάσσωμα ετηρῶν α(νδρῶν?) ρνθ
205 ἀποκαταστήσεως ε.υεχυ
Ἀχιλλέως (δρ.) ..ν
Μα.αις Οψ... λινου
............... ζευ( ) ι β
]υτοις β
210 ].ογοις β α....
traces
traces
traces

(Fg. C) Col. XIV
Τῦβι ἄλλης λογηας (δρ.) ι
215 κατοίκων καὶ Ἑλλήνων
καὶ Αἰγυπτίων
Ἡρ\ώ/(δης) Ταψάιτος (δρ.) β
Ἁρμιῦς Ὥρου β
Κολλούθης Αριται( )* α
220 υεἱὸς β
υεἱὸς Χ\ώ/(ρου) Πετεχ\ῶ/(νος) β
Κάστωρ Διονυ β
Ὧρος τέκτων α
υεἱὸς Ἀδρ\ά/(στου) Ποκᾶ(τος) β
225 Ἰρανοῦφις Πετε\χ/(ῶνος) β
Σῖμος α
Ποκᾶς Κρου β
υεἱὸς .
υεἱὸς α
230 Ἡρακρῆς Παρ.[
Ὀρφεὺς [
Ἡρ\ώ/(δης) Αρκοιρις [

Col. XV
Πνεωρῶς Νουμή(νιος) α
Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Παρμενίω(νος) β
235 Ἀπολλ\ω/( ) Μενελα β
]..[ ] β
] β
]. β
]... β
240 ] β
]..ασπορευ β
]
]
]
245 ]... β

Col. XVI
Κικάις* α
255 Ἀρβωνυχ\ο/(ς)* α
υεἱὸς β
Ἡρόδοτος Πτο β
Σενθεῦς Λεον α
Ἀβηοῦς β
260 Πολέμω(ν) Τλαλ α
Ψενοβάστις Αλε β
Σώστρατ[ος] α
] β
] β
265 Ξεν[ ] β
τέκτων α
υεἱὸς .

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ]...ν( ) ..[.] | α |
| | ] | α |
| | ].ιας Αλμ.( ) | α |
| | Πολ]υδεύ\κ/(ης) Απ̣ερ( ) | α |
| 250 | ] | α |
| | ]ρου Λάκου | β |
| | ]χ\ω/(ν) Αι..ου( ) | β |
| | ].ς Λακανους̣ | β |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | υεἱὸς | β |
| | Ἡρ\ώ/(δης) σκεδιαζ.[.] | β |
| 270 | ἀδελφὸς | β |
| | Διόγνητος ἠπ(ητὴς) | β |
| | υεἱὸς | β |
| | Ψενοβ\ά/(στις) Ψῦρος | β |
| | Γαβινις* | β |
| 275 | Ὧρος Κη.[ | ]α |
| | [ἀ]δελφ[ὸς | |

Col. XVII

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Πετεῆσι(ς) λιν(όυφος) | β |
| | υεἱὸς | β |
| | Ἀπολλω() Χην | β |
| 280 | Ἀσκλᾶς | α |
| | Διομήδης | α |
| | Γαλέστη(ς) Ἀδρ(άστου) | β |
| | υεἱὸς | β |
| | Τηρίων | α |
| 285 | Γαλέστης Βη(σᾶτος) | α |
| | Ἀνιμους* Ἀδρ(άστου) | β |
| | Ἀπολλω( ) Προ( ) | β |
| | Σίδηρος | β |
| | Ψενοβάστις | β |
| 290 | υεἱὸς | α |
| | Πτολλίων Ἀδρ(άστου) | β |
| | Δολης Δολης* | α |
| | Γλαυκίας Νικᾶ | α |
| | ]..[ | |

(Fg. D) Col. XVIII

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 295 | [.]εσβισις* | δ |
| | [.]μος | β |
| | [...]αεμεσις* | b |
| | Πετεχῶν γρ(αφεὺς) | δ |
| | Ἄδραστος Λεωρις* | β |
| 300 | Πα̣[ρ]μενί̣ων | δ |
| | Ἀλε]ξάνδρ(ου) | δ |
| | ].[...] | δ |
| | ] | δ |
| | ] | δ |
| | ] | δ |
| | ] | δ̣ |
| | lacuna of 8 cm. | |
| | ] | δ |
| | ] | δ |
| | ] | δ |
| 310 | ].. | δ |

Col. XIX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Ἄδρα[στος | |
| | Σενθεῦς Πῖτις | δ |
| | Σωτήριχος Πριρις* | δ |
| | Ψατῦμις ὀνηλάτη(ς) | δ |
| 315 | Πετεχῶν Παμῶτος | β |
| | Ἀνθαγόρας Ἦλις | δ |
| | Παντοενβης* Παραμου( )* | δ |
| | δ(ε)ίλης | |

Col. XX

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | [ | ] |
| 335 | Ἁρμιῦσις γναφεὺς | δ |
| | Μενχῆς Πτέρωνο(ς) | δ |
| | Λάτης Λεωσις* κερα(μεὺς) | δ |
| | Παιλευς* | δ |
| | Γλαυκίας Ἀπολλ\ω/( ) ἰατρὸ(ς) | δ |
| 340 | Ἁρφαῆσις Σενθέως | δ |
| | Λακάπις* | δ |
| | Ὧρος Πόντου | δ |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Ἀμά̣[ρ]λης | δ |
| 320 | Δημῆτρις Κελάδου | β |
| | Πετεχῶν Παναευν( )* | δ |
| | Περοβάστ̣[ι]ς̣* ἰατρὸς | δ |
| | (ὧν)ἔχ(ε)ι ι | β |
| | Τρύφων λίνυφος | δ |
| | Καλατύτης Κῆπαις | δ |
| 325 | ].[ ] | δ |
| | ]ς | δ |
| | Π]α̣σόις Ἰρηκλῆς | δ |
| | ]ωνος | δ |
| | .[..]ς Νικοστράτου | δ |
| 330 | Κ[..]ωνουφις Δαιταιτος* | δ |
| | Γλαυκίας Νικάνωρ | δ̣ |
| | ταριχευταὶ | η |
| | Ῥωμάις Αρ.[...].ν.. | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | πρόγονος Πετεμῖνις | δ |
| | υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Φυλάκου | δ |
| 345 | Θεόφαντος Ῥιγᾶς* | δ |
| | Ἀμφωνυχος* Σωσιθ(έου) | δ |
| | Λεόντις Κοσ | δ |
| | Νεφορῶς Τακιόιτος* | δ |
| | Ἀρυώτης Ἀμεννέω(ς) | δ |
| 350 | Πετεχῶν Πίνις | δ |
| | Πολέμων Φιλω( ) | δ |
| | υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Πετεῆσις [.....] | |
| | π̣[ | |
| | μ̣[ | |
| 355 | α̣[ | |
| | Γα[β]ι̣ν̣ι[ς* | |
| | Αὖλαος [ | |
| | Φομβε[ | |
| | Πα[ | |

Col. XXI

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 360 | [ | ] |
| | Ὧρος Ἁρπῶτο[ς] | β |
| | Ἀνθαγόρας Ἦλις | δ |
| | δ(ε)ίλης | |
| | Ἰρανοῦφις Πετεχῶ(νος) | [ |
| 365 | Ἑρμᾶς Πτολεμαίο̣υ̣ | . |
| | Εὐπόλεμος | δ |
| | υ\ἱ/(ὸς) Φομβῶς \νεώτερος/ Πεμσάις | δ |
| | Κύων Κῆπαις | δ |
| | Διομήδης | δ |
| 370 | Ἀμμῶνις Παυσιμά(χου) | δ |
| | Πύρων χαλκεὺς | δ |
| | Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Ὥρου λίνυφος | δ |
| | Πετεχῶν Εὐβούλου | δ |
| | ιβ Φιλῶτας | δ |
| 375 | Παχῶς Κωφως | δ |
| | [υ]\ἱ/(ὸς) Ἁ[ρ]φαῆσις Παρήου(ς) | δ |
| | [...] Σουχᾶτος | δ |
| | ]ν Διονυτᾶς | δ |
| | ]απεως | |

Col. XXII

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Σαδάλας Κυτοῦ(ς) | δ |
| | ]. | δ̣ |
| | ]πα[ | |
| 385 | Ψεν]οβάστις σχεδιαζου̣ | δ |
| | Πόντος | δ |
| | Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Π̣ε̣τ̣ε̣ακ | δ |
| | Κολλού[θ(ης)] ἀδελφὸς | δ |
| | Νεχθεμβῆς λαχα(νοπώλης) | δ |
| 390 | Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Κῆπαις | β |
| | Ἁτρῆς σκυτεὺς | β |
| | Σενθεῦς Κῆπαις | β |
| | ] Περοβάστεω(ς)* | δ |
| | Πύρος | δ |
| 395 | Π̣ε̣τεχῶν Ταγῖτος | δ |
| | Ο̣πλοπαδος* υ | δ |
| | ].ος Παῶντις | δ |
| | ].υνευς πρόγονο(ς) | δ |
| | ]. Καλλικράτου | δ |
| 400 | | ] |
| | | ] |

380 ] Κεφαλᾶτος δ
]... δ̣

]
] δ(ε)ίλης
].ν ἰατροῦ δ
405 Ἡρακρῆ(ς) Φι̣λ̣ώτου δ
ιγ
[ ]......πο( ) β

Col. XXIII
Πετεχῶν λαξὸς δ
Β̣ε̣λλῆς Ανωντις* δ
410 [
[
[
Ποκᾶς Εὐάρχου β δ
Κρεῖος Σίλλου β
δ(ε)ίλης
415 ταριχευταὶ δ
Κόρσων* ἠπητὴς δ
Ἀνθαγορίων Π̣ε̣ρίνθου δ
Πολιάντης δ
Ἀμμεννεῦς Πινδάρ(ου) δ

Col. XXIV
420 ιδ
Πετεχῶν Σώτου β δ
Κολλούθη(ς) Αδαιτος* δ
Πετενοῦφις Κήπαις β
Παυσᾶς αὐλητὴς δ
425 Θνάις λίνυφος δ (ὧν) ἔχ(ε)ι β
Πτολλίων Ἁρφαῆσις δ
Σώστρατος χ\α/(λκεὺς) υ
Γαλέστης Βησᾶτος δ
Ὡρίων Κόνδωνος β
430 Ἀσκλᾶς — δ (ὧν) ἔχ(ε)ι β
Φομβῶς Πετεακης* υ\ἱ/(ὸς) δ
Καλ̣αλᾶς Τεαπναῦτ̣ο̣ς δ (ὧν) ἔχ(ε)ι β
δ(ε)ίλης
Ἡρακλῆς Αλλκινις* β

Col. XXV

435 ι[ε]⁻
Πέτων [
[
[
.....[
440 Ἰσχυρ[
Αδραπε.[*

(Fg. E) Col. XXVI
.[
.[
.[
445 / Ὡρ[ ]....
Τ̣[.].[..]ι̣λις Μαχ\λ̣/( ) α
Σωτήριχ[ο]ς̣ Λαομε( ) β
Μεγχῆς Αρ̣η̣ρηους β
Γᾶνις β
450 υἱὸς α
Αμνισης* β
Παῖμις β
..[ ]ι̣λις β
ἀδελ̣φ[ὸ]ς β
455 Πε...ες Ὀνν( ) β



Κ[ο]λ̣λούθ̣ου α
Ὧρος Μανρ̣(οῦς)
Σφαῖρας [
]ε[..].[

Col. XXVII
460 ]. Κ̣α̣λ̣λ̣ίπ\π/(ου) β
Π]ετε\χ/(ῶν) Νιρήας* β
Ὧ]ρος Λῆκις* α
ἀδελφὸς α
]..ων Παι\δ/( ) β
465 ἀδελφὸς β
υἱὸς Πεκρ( ) α
Πετεακης* χαλ\κ/(εὺς) β
Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Ἑριέως β
Σενθεῦς Ἰχν\α/(λύκου)* β
470 Φομβῶς Τ̣α̣ῶ̣ς α
υἱὸς Κεφάλων β
Π..εις Κεφα β
Πρώτης β
Ἁρπαῆ[σ]ις Σενθ(έως) β
475 •[.]..... β
Π̣[ ] β
] Πετεαρψε( ) β
] οἰκο\δ/(όμος) β
] Ἀρ̣τ̣ε\μ̣.( ) β
480 ] β

Col. XXVIII
Πμηις β
Πτολλί(ων) Καψ( )* α
Ἀνθαγ\ό/(ρας) β
ἀδελφὸς β
485 Ζήν\ω/(ν) Κίσσ\α/ α
Ἡρακλέω(ν) λί(νυφος) α
ἀδελφὸς α
Πετεχῶνς Σπαρτᾶ β
Ἀνεμμους* Κυ( ) β
490 Νααπαινὶς* α
Μανρῆς β
Κολλούθης β
Πετε\χ/(ῶν) Ταλ( ) .
Νεχθεμβ\ῆ/(ς) β
495 Κολλοῦ\θ/() λα\χ/(ανοπώλης) α
Πικοῦς α
Χ\ῶ/(ρος) Πατώμιο̣ς β
Κολλοῦ\θ/() Ταπ\ῑ/( ) α
Πετε\χ/(ῶν) Καλαμ( ) β
500 ἀδελφ[ὸς ] α
Α.η.[ ]
Α.[ ]α̣

Col. XXIX
Ἡρακλῆς Ταβευτη* α
ἀδελφὸς α
505 Κύων α
υἱὸς Ἀρχῆμις β
υἱ(ὸς) Στρουθοῦ
Ἀρτέμ\ω/(ν) Πύρ\ω/(νος) β
Παᾶπις β
510 Ἡρακλῆς Γαλῆτο(ς) β
Ἁτρῆς σκυτεὺς α
Ἀμμ\ω/( ) αὐλ\η/(τὴς) β

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | υἱὸς | α |
| | Τηρίων Εὔνους | β |
| 515 | Πετε\χ/(ῶν) Ὀννώφρ(ιος) | β |
| | Πανετβ\ε/( ) Ἰρανού(φιος) | β |
| | Θεανουβέστις* | β |
| | Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀτρέω̣ς | β |
| | Ἁρσιῆσι(ς) βουκ\ο/(λος) | β |
| 520 | Ἥρας Νικοστρ\ά/(του) | α |
| | Νεχθεμβ\ῆ/(ς) Καλ( ) | β |
| | Παυσᾶς αὐλ\η/(τὴς) | β |
| | υἱὸς Λααμερ.. | β |
| | Πετεακης* Λ̣αβ | α |
| 525 | τ[α]ριχευταὶ ιδ τε\λ/( ) ζ (δρ.) ιδ | |
| | (γίν.) ἄν̣\δ̣/(ρες) ρ̣δ̣ | |

Two loose fragments, one with Πλη[, the other with Αμμω[.

3 *et passim* < 14 *et passim* ⤹ 19 -ηού 20 -τό 31 -ό
33 αδρά 34 νεωτέ 38 αδραστ́ 41 -εμά 43 -κομό 57 -φορό
71 οικοδό 75 νεχθεραυτ́ 80 -δή 81 -ηθί 93 -ενιώ 94 -δρό
148 ού 160 αδρά 173 ηλί 175 -βή 178 -αρή 180 -αφεύ
182 ταπύ 184 -μά 190 αραί 202, 203 αρ̄ 203 ᾱ 208 ζεύ
219 -ιταί 224 ποκά 234 μενιώ 248 αλῦ 249 απερ́ 271 ηπ́ 364 -χώ
370-σμά 376 -ηού 389 λαχά 393 -στεώ 398 -γονό 419 -δαρ́
422 -θή 425,430,432 ⌊ 447 -μέ 455 μανρ́ 466 πεκρ́ 477 -αρψ̂
482 -ί, -ψ́ 486 ↑ 489 κύ 493 ταλ́ 499 -λαμ 510 -ητ́ 515 -οφρ́
516 -ού 521 καλ́ 526 /

1 It is obvious that no more than a few letters with the year of Augustus' reign are missing from the left. The remaining ink traces on the edge of the papyrus are unfortunately much too vague to begin to decipher.
2 In the column of numbers there is a long, vertical stroke whose meaning is elusive.
6 *Delta* has been corrected from *alpha*.
16 Cf. Πασιψῆμις.
17 = 217, where he is apparently in a different taxation class. According to its form Ταψάιτος would appear to be feminine, but it must be the name of the father. Cf. l. 64.
18 = vso 59.
19 Cf. Χορῆος and Mayser I.2, § 63 Anhang.
21 = 219: *l.* Ἀλιταί(ου) ?
25 Cf. **2674**.228: Χῶλος Βαστ.[.
26 Λατης: The same name in ll. 91, 337; P. Tebt. IV 1139.5. The same man in 91? (brother of Adrastos; both sons of Paras; cf. l. 90).
Παρᾶτος: The second alpha has been corrected from *eta*.
27 Κιλικᾶς: The name is attested in SB VIII 9904.3 (Antinoopolis, 154 A.D.).



31 *Tau* and *epsilon* corrected from *sigma* and *omicron*. Cf. ll. 68, 71, 233 for similarly constructed names. Do these forms which omit the intervocalic labial *phi* between the two vowels *epsilon* and *omicron* perhaps reflect the Herakleopolitan dialectic pronunciations?
32 = 295.
33 = 299.
39 = Fg. B col. II 9.
41 Cf. l. 257.
42 Cf. CRIPEL 1 (1973) p. 224, l.33: Νοβωνύχου; Pape: Ἀρβουπάλης.
43 Cf. H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 102–105; on horses in general: A. Hyland, Equus. The Horse in the Roman World, London 1990.
46 = 129, 382.
48 = **2674**.95.
49 Μαν has been written over something else. Cf. E. Bernand, RIGF 61.1, on the meaning of this name.
53 = 249.
55 Πετεβεν(δήτιος): Attested in **1809**.3.
56 Cf. Ἀνίκιος.
57 Since *pastophoroi* are not technically priests, they were liable to the poll-tax. Cf. H. Schönborn, Die Pastophoren im Kult der ägyptischen Götter (Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 80), Meisenheim am Glan 1976; A. Passoni dell' Acqua, Aegyptus 61 (1981) 176ff.; Kessler 86.7; E. Lane, Glotta 66 (1988) 100–123; P.W. van der Horst in: Studies in Egyptian Religion ... Zandee, Leiden 1982, 70.81; J.-J. Aubert, BASP 28 (1991) 113-118; and Pestman, Choachytes, p. 428.
58 = 152? ἡπητής: Pestman, Choachytes p. 442.
59 Cf. Pape, Ἰαπίς. The scribe, perhaps wishing to avoid the *kollesis* running through the roll at this point, left a space in the middle of the name and continued with *pi*, *iota* and *sigma* on the succeeding sheet.
63 Κελαδοῦ: Attested in Pape.
65 Not the attested name Ἀκοίφιος, but rather the same new name which also appears here in ll. 89, 232.
68 Ἀρυσαη.[: The first letter perhaps corrected from *epsilon*. Cf. Bernand, RIGF 181.2: Ἀρυταῆς.
70 *l.* -σῖρις.
72 Θινῶχις: Cf. Σενῶχις, Τενοῦχις?
Κρηκίτη[ς]: Thinochis is an inhabitant of the village of Krekis (cf. **2437**.44, **2439**.20,62; P. Giss. 65.11: Κρηκείτης).
Such word formations are widely attested, e.g. **2425**.7,27: Νωίτης; P. Tebt. I 90.35; 103 (p. 448); P. Tebt. I 112.122; II 347.18, 401.44: Ταλίτης. It is somewhat disconcerting that both Talites (SB 9693.73) and Onites (v. Pape) are also attested as names of people. Tabeutes (l. 503) is likewise problematical.
75 Νεχθεραῦτ(ος): The name of a deity in P. Grenfl. II 33.5 and W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Denkmäler II = Catalogue générale du Caire 39, Strasbourg 1908, p. 227.
77 = 109.
78 *l.* Χωθ( ) Ἀμουνίου ? The first *omicron* corrected from *iota*. Cf. l. 118.
80 Πετεβενδῆ(τις) Ὀννίτη(ς): Petebendetis is an inhabitant of the village of Onne; cf. l. 72 n. Onne is also attested in **1808**.9, **2370**.82,86, **2440**.44. Falivene 205 discusses its location. See Pestman, Choachytes, p. 71, on names terminating in -βενδῆτις.
84 = 177.
87 = 223.
88 A couple of ink specks are all that remain of the first letters. There is hardly enough room for Π̣τ̣[ο]λεμᾶς.

93 = 234.
97 = 469 and **2674**.164
103 = 269. Cf. 385.
105 = 429.
108 = 138, 282.
109 = 77.
110 ταριχευταί: Cf. H. Youtie, TAPA 61 (1940) 656 = Scriptiunculae I 96–97; C. Kraemer and F. Spencer, Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc. 65 (1934) 45; D.J. Thompson, Memphis under the Ptolemies, Princeton 1988, 156–7; P. Pestman, L'archivio di Amenothes (P. Tor. Amenothes), Milan 1981, 1–9; E. Reymond, P. dem. Ashmol., Oxford 1973, 23ff.
112 = 512 ?
118 = 78 ?
122 Cf. 274 and vso 32: Γαβίνιος.
127 = 485. Cf. Κίσσος. Similar names are attested in Pape.
128 Cf. Τουαλής.
129 = 46, 382.
135–139 = 279–283.
135 Either the father's name, Χην(οῦ), or else the man's occupation, χην(οτρόφος), χην(-οβοσκός), χην(άς)? There is no mark of abbreviation after the *nu*. Cf. W. Clarysse and O. Masson, "Le substantif χηνάς et le nom d'homme Χηνᾶς," ZPE 20 (1976) 231.
140 Ἑρμάω(ν)?, Ἑρμαῶ(ς)?
141 Cf. 168, 313.
143 = 482.
144 Cf. Ἀμοῦς.
150 Πίνις: Cf. 350 and P. Berl. Leihg. 12.3.
154 Cf. Vergote, p. 6.
156 Cf. O. Masson, ZPE 98 (1993) 157–167.
157, 158 The fathers' names show no mark of abbreviation, perhaps because they are written directly over the *kollesis*, and the scribe, wishing to avoid difficulties, simply dropped the endings and left off any mark of abbreviation.
163 = 371.
168 = 313 Cf. 141; ZPE 46 (1982) 250: Πριροις.
173 = 316, 362. Ἀνθαγόρας: Cf. SB I 8974, fg. 3.40, 57 (Abusir el-Melek, I B.C.); Pape: Ἀνταγόρας.
175 Cf. 317.
177 = 84.
179 = 376.
180 = 335.
182 Ταπ̣ν( ), Ταγ̣ι̣ν( ) ?
184 = 499̣.
186 The first letter(s) corrected from something else. *Iota*, *eta* and *kappa* seem to be involved here.
190 Αρα̣ι̣( ), Αρλ̣ι̣( ), Αρα̣ρ̣( ), Ἄ{ρ}δρ\α/(στος)? The third letter corrected and written-over.
197–198 *l.* συνκεφαλαίωσιν: "For the record: 300 (tax-payers?) at 8 drachmas (apiece) equals 355 silver drachmas and 2 obols."
207 λινόυ⟨φος⟩?
217 = 17.
219 = 21.
223 = 87.
225 = 364. Ἰρανοῦφις: Cf. CRIPEL 1 (1973) 250 = SB XII 10861 II 2.



230 *l.* -κλης.
232 = 89; cf. l. 65 n.
234 = 93.
249 = 53. The number has been changed, but it is impossible to determine whether *alpha* or *beta* was first written and then emended into the other.
255 Cf. 42 n.
257 Cf. l. 41.
269 = 103 *l.* σχεδιάζων?; cf. 385.
274 = 122.
279–283 = 135–139.
284 The name is rare; cf. l. 514 and P. Giss. 94.3 (Soknopaiu Nesos, I A.D.).
285 Cf. l. 428. W. Schäfer, P. Köln V 223.4 n., discusses another, more famous, Galestes.
293 = 331?
295 = 32?
299 = 33
302 This line originally read: ].τρος δ. In the meantime, the piece bearing these letters has been lost.
313 = 168 *l.* Πλήρης ? Cf., however, ZPE 46 (1982) 250: Πριροις.
314 Ψατῆμις.
315 Παμῶτος: The name is attested in P. Tebt. III 1053.12.
316 = 173, 362.
317 Cf. 175.
319 Ἀμο̣[υ]λῆς is also possible.
322 = vso. 30. Cf. P. Tebt. I 1026: Περευβάστις; NB: Τεροβάστις.
323 *l.* -υφος.
327 *l.* Ἡρακλῆς.
324 Κήπαις is attested in Pape.
331 = 293?
335 = 180.
336 Πτέρωνος is attested in Pape.
337 = **2674**.152?
338 Cf. O. Wilbour 7.1**:** Παχομπαιηλους.
340 = 474.
341 Λακάνις is out of the question.
344 Φυλάκου is attested in Pape. Cf. **2674**.167.
345 *l.* ⟨Ὠ⟩ριγᾶς?
348 Cf. Κιόις.
350 Cf. 150 n.
351 Cf. SB VI 8974.43: Φιλώτας Πολέμωνος (Abusir el-Melek; I B.C.), possibly a relative of the man in this account.
352 Cf. Vergote, p. 15.
362 = 173, 316.
364 = 225.
371 = 163.
375 Κωφως: Cf. P. Bon. 39a vso 6: Κωφοῦς; P. Oxy. VII 1050.15: Κωφός.
376 = 178.
382 = 46, 129.
385 *l.* σχεδιάζων?; cf. 103.
391 = 511.
395 *l.* Ταγῆτος.
405 *l.* -κλῆ(ς).

413 Εὐάρχου: Cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59434.
414 Both names are attested in Pape.
424 = 522.
427 χα(λκεύς?) υ: If this entry is correct, it is intriguing: Sostratos is paying 400 drachmas instead of the usual 4.
428 = 285.
429 = 105.
430 Ἀσκλᾶς —: Shorthand for Ἀσκλᾶς (Ἀσκλᾶτος), according to J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412.62 n.; P. Princ. I, p. xiii.
432 Cf. P. Giss. I 37 II 12: Ταπνοῦτος (Gebelen, 136 B.C.).
434 Cf. Pape: Ἀλκίνης; NB: Ἁρκῖνις.
461 Cf. NB: Νηρᾶς.
462 Cf. NB: Ἀλῆκις.
464 -on is either a slave (παιδάριον) or son of Paid-.
469 = 97.
474 = 340 and vso 63.
476 *Beta* has been corrected from *alpha*.
481 Πμηις: Cf. Pape: Παμῆεις, Πάμης.
482 = 143.
499 = 184.
503 Ταβεύτη(ς)?: Although this looks suspiciously like the man's occupation or ethnikon, nothing can be adduced from the lexica to support either interpretation. Cf. J. Day, C. Keyes, P. Col. V, p. 125 l. 134: Ταπευτ( ).
505 Attested in Pape.
505, 507 For such names as Kyon, the "dog," and Struthos, the "sparrow," which were often given to slaves, see **2372**.4 n.; O. Masson, "Les noms des esclaves dans la Grèce antique," in: Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'esclavage, Paris 1972, 15ff.; A. Henrichs, Die Phoinikika des Lollianos, Bonn 1972, 107; U. Horak, Tyche 4 (1989) 105–106; H. Heinen, Studia Hellenistica 27 (1983) 138f.
511 = 391.
514 Τηρίων: Cf. P. Giss. 94.3 (Soknopaiu Nesos, 66/67 A.D.); otherwise known only from inscriptions and literature; *l.* Εὐνόου.
517 Cf. **916**.36: Θενοβέστις; P. Lond. II 257.217: Θεανοβ(); **2674**.212: Θεανοβάστι(ς).
518 Homer in the tax rolls!
522 = 424.
524 Γαβ̣?

On the verso are more lists and accounts, some apparently continuing the lists on the recto. Others, however, involve pawning transactions, indicating that the tax-roll was re-used after it had ceased to have any value or serve any purpose in the tax-office. Other pawnshop accounts are: UPZ I, p. 377; E. Husselmann, TAPA 92 (1961) 251–266; P. Lond. II 193 vso. (extensive fragments of which are among the *inedita* in the Paris and Berlin collections).

Frag. A vso: Col. I: traces

Col. II
ια̅ Ἰσχυρίων(ος) ..δε.. πρωει̣ ....πεδι̣
ὁ\μ/(οίως) ἄλλαι χ(ιτῶνες) [γ]υνα̣(ικεῖοι)



δε̣ίλης ρκ
(γίν.) τῆς ἡμέρας υπη
5 θ τιμῆς οἴνου (δρ.) ιβ
.. τὸ ⟨ε⟩ἰσηγμ̣ένον ἀ̣ργ(υρ.) ροβ
καὶ καλκοῦ(δρ.) .η
δ⟨ε⟩ίλης(δρ.) κ̣
(γίν.) τῆς ἡμέρας (δ̣ρ̣.) .
10 ι̅ πρωὶ ἀργ(υρ.) (δρ.) ..[ ]
δ⟨ε⟩ίλη[ς
(γίν.) τῇ̣[ς ἡμέρας
– ια̅ πρω[ί

Col. III
– ιδ \ιδ̅/ πρω[ὶ] ἀργ(υρ.) [(δρ.)] μδ
15 ιε̅ πρω[ὶ ]η

Col. IV
– ι[ ]..ωνι qβ ζ ⟦βουλουπαιου (δρ.) δ⟧

Frag. B vso: Col. I: traces

Col. II
Ὧρος Πόντου
Ἄδρ\α/(στος) Ἀ̣θ̣η̣ν̣\ω/( ) υἱός
υείός
20 Πετοσῖρις λαχ̣α̣νη̣( )
Πανετβεῦις Σενθέ(ως)
ἀδελφός
(γίν.) [..]ρς
υεί(ὸς) Π̣ε̣τεαρμ\ῶ/(τος)
25 Μικ̣ί̣ων Ὡρίωνος
Θεόφι̣λος
.εβεω̣ς
.[ ]ς L
]..[ ]ς L

Col. III
30 Περοβάστις ..ατροσ..
υείός
Γαβ̣ι̣νις*
υἱὸς Ἀχι( )
traces
35 traces
ἀδελφός
Στίλβω̣ν
υείός
υ....
40 ἀδελφός
Παμ...

Col. IV and V: traces of twelve lines apiece.

Frag. D vso:

Col. I

λόγος ιμα..ου
ὧν
Σαβείνου (δρ.) .
45 ....εξανδρον η
Ἰσκυρίωνος η
τιμῆς χι(τῶνος) γυναικ(είου) (δρ.) μη
τιμῆς οιμουνου ι
(γίν.) ἀργ(υρ.) (δρ.) λς

Col. II

τὸ [κα]θ' ἓν τῶν ἐσχη(κότων) κ...ον
50 ... μηνας (δρ.) ς
Ἰμούθη(ς) Ἡρ\α/( ) ς
Ἑστιῆς Θεοφ( ) ς
Ἀνθαγόρας( ) .... ς
Νικ( ) Καπ...
55 ὥσται Ζηνᾶ ιβ

Col. III

τὸ καθ' ἓν \τῶν/ ἐνεχύρων
Δαμᾶς Κα traces
Χῶρος Σενθέως αικρο.ν
60 /Κάστωρ Διομή(δου) ἱμάτιν
Κριὸς χι(τῶν) ἀνδρην
Ῥοδίππος .....ρ...κον
Ἁρφαῆσις Σενθέως ἱμάτιν
(Ἡρωνδῆς* Κόσμου ἱμάτιν
65 Ἀτρῆς Φορήους* ἀνδρη( )
(Ἄδρα(στος) Κοῦρις Ζ ἀνδρη( ) παιδίου
Ψενοβάστις Σ...άζου ἱμάτιν ἀν[δ]ρη( )
(Ἰμούθης Περοβάστεως* χι(τῶν) γυναικω(ν)
Καθα[( )ο]ικοδόμος χι(τῶν) γυναι(κων) παιδίου

Col. IV

70 ἢ ταριχευται'[
Ἀρχιῶσις [
ἀδελφός [
Θεῦς [
Σαρα[πί]ων [
75 Ειαι[
..[

1 *l.* πρωί.
2 *l.* ἄλλοι.
3 *l.* χαλκοῦ.
16 βουλουπαιου: *non liquet.*
21 Πανετβεῦις: Cf. Vergote 13.
25 = rto. 39.
30 = rto. 322
42 *l.* ἱματίου.
48 τιμῆς οιμουνου: *non liquet.*
55 *l.* ὥστε. Nik- in l. 54 pays for himself and Zenas.
59 = rto. 18.
60ff. *l.* ἱμάτιον.
61ff. *l.* ἀνδρεῖος: Cf. Z. Packman, BASP 25 (1988) 137–148, on the various adjectives signifying "masculine" and "feminine" in the papyri.
64 Ἡρωνδῆς: *add. onom.*
65 Φορήους: *add. onom.*
67 = rto. 385. *L.* σχεδιάζου? = σχεδιάζων?
68 Περοβάστεως: *add. onom.*; cf. P. Tebt. 1026: Περευβάστις.
68, 69 *l.* γυναικεῖος.
70ff. This column apparently belongs to the taxation account on the recto.
75 Ειαπ[ις, as in rto. 59, is out of the question here.



## 2578–2587
## Declarations of Sheep and Goats

In one fell swoop this cartonnage mummy coffin has produced ten early Roman small animal declarations from the Herakleopoite nome. Heretofore, only two (P. Oxy. Hels. 8; PIFAO I 5) were known from the period B.C., and two sole declarations were known from the Herakleopolite nome for the entire Roman period: VBP II 21 and P. Heid. IV 303 (cf. P. Heid. IV, pp. 76–79). With one exception (**2586**) from 5 B.C., they all date to the 17th year of Augustus (14/13 B.C.) and were submitted in the month of Mecheir. Apart from **2586** which is addressed to Apollonios, suborn of Herakleides, *strategos* and chief revenue officer, they are all addressed to Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eireinaios, supervisor of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for that year. Several of these new documents are collective ones and therefore similar to P. Berl. Möller 7 and P. Oxy. LV 3778.

The constituent elements in these ten new Herakleopolitan declarations are as follows: 1) a marginal note made in the registration office containing: the origin of the declaration, the official's certification that he has received the declaration, and the date; 2) the declaration itself consisting of a) the address (for the most part to adjutants of Eirenaios ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἐννομίῳ); b) a tally of the animals and a formulaic description of their grazing activities; c) the request καταχωρῖσαι τὴν ἀπογραφήν; d) either a salutation or the date.

Literature and parallels: S. Avogadro, Aegyptus 15 (1935) 131ff.; J. Rea, P. Oxy. LV, pp. 5–6; C. Nelson, **2489**, introd.; B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 302, introd.; C. Balconi, Aegyptus 64 (1984) 35–60; R. Coles, P. Oxy. XLVII 3338, introd.; D. Hagedorn, P. Köln IV 188, introd.; *id.*, ZPE 21 (1976) 161–165; P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 70 (1987) 135–136; A. Hanson, Aegyptus 69 (1989) 61–69; J. Keenan, BASP 26 (1989) 175–200. Special thanks to W. Habermann for helpful comments on these texts.

## 2578

P. 25166 — Poimenon Kome
27 x 10 cm. — Feb. 4, 13

Margins: upper 4, lower 6.5, left 1.5, right minimal. *Kollesis* 2.5 cm. from the right edge. The same script as **2579** and similar to Schubart, Gr. Pal., Abb. 25. Given the damaged state of the papyrus, it is impossible to determine whether or not a docket once stood in the upper margin. Verso blank.

Ἡρα[κ]λείδηι κα[ὶ Ἀ]πολλωνίω[ι τοῖς παρὰ]
Εἰρηναίου το[ῦ πρὸ]ς τῶι ἐν[νομίωι]
τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου traces [ Καίσαρος]

παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσί[ο]υ τῶ[ν]
5 ἀπὸ Ποιμένων κώμης. ἀπογ[ρά-]
φομαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι
πρόβατα τέλεια σ[ύμμι]κτα τεσσα-
ράκοντα πέντε καὶ οἰκιακὸν ἕνα
ὥστ' εἶναι πρόβατα τεσσαράκοντα
10 ἓξ αἶγες τρεῖς ἐπιμεμιγμένα δὲ
τοῖς Ὡρίωνος τοῦ Ψενήσιος καὶ Ἑρμίου
τοῦ Ἀριστομένου πρόβασι καὶ τοὺς
ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους ἄρνας
ἐρ[ί]φους νεμόμενα ποτιζόμενα αὐλι-
15 [ζόμενα περὶ τὴν κώμην καὶ δ]ι' ὅλου
τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐ[ὰν φαίνηται κατα]χωρῖσα[ι]
τὴν ἀπ[ογρα]φ[ὴν] ὡς καθήκει.

[......]ρονο[ς] μονογρ(άφου)
[(ἔτους)] ιζ Καίσαρος Μεχεὶρ θ

18 νο

2 ἐν[νομίωι]: see **2452**.3 and J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3779.8, 22 n. for bibliography on the pasture-tax.

8 οἰκιακόν: G. Horsley, NDIEC 3, no. 1 commetary, cites other examples of this word in the papyri; however, examples in animal declarations are lacking. This would seem to be an animal kept at home, separate from the others, perhaps as a pet. Cf. C. Gorteman, CdE 32 (1957) 101–120, on the Egyptians' interest in animals. Animals are often greeted in private letters from the pharaonic period down through the Coptic one (*pace* C. Tsiparis, O. Lund 14.3 n.) Cf. Olsson, Papyrusbriefe, p. 195, citing numerous examples; P. Mich. VIII 482.12 n.; O. Theb. Copt. 36; P. Oxy. XIV 1772; O. Amst. 18.2; O. Florida 15.2, 18.4; BSAC 24 (1982) 10. Animals are given names: P. Mich. VIII 482.12; Enchoria 12 (1984) 59; MDAIK 25 (1969) 224–6; P. Cair. Isid. 137.11 n.; P. Abinn. 60.9; G. Farber, "Rinder mit Namen" in: Zikir Sumim. Assyriological Studies presented to F.R. Kraus (van Driel, Krispijn, Stol and Veenhof, edd.), Leiden 1982; E. Hornung, "Die Bedeutung des Tieres im alten Ägypten," Studium Generale 20 (1967) 83.123; Robert Mond, Oliver Myers, The Bucheum II, London 1934, nos. 1–12 *passim*; Schnebel 321–322; Wm. Brashear, ZPE 56 (1984) 64; G. Browne, Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III, London 1991, p. 88.

10 ἐπιμεμιγμένα: Various owners' animals are in the herd of one shepherd; cf. Aegyptus 64 (1984) 40. On the neuter plural form of this word cf. B. Boyaval, ZPE 6 (1970)12; H. Frisk, Aegyptus 10 (1929) 95.

12 πρόβασι: Cf. P. Heid. IV 302.19 n., for parallels.

12–13 τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας: Cf. Aegyptus 15 (1935) 171; CPJ III 482; E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 8.1–2 n. E. Boswinkel and P. Pestman, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXII, p. 105, discuss the putative Demotic equivalent which translates "animals that follow their mothers." Cf. J. Keenan, YCS 28 (1985) 252, on flocks segregated according to the age of the sheep. For a Coptic inventory of sheep cf. L. MacCoull, Coptic Documentary Papyri from the Beinecke Library, Cairo 1986, p. 55.



13 *l.* ἐφετείους: Cf. S. Kapsomenakis, Voruntersuchungen z. e. Grammatik der Papyri (=MB 28), Munich 1938, 65.1, and D. Hagedorn, P. Hamb. III 229.8 n. and P. Mon. 127.19 n., on ἐφέτος.

13–14 ἄρνας ἐρ[ί]φους: On the asyndeton cf. E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 8.2–3 n. J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3778.26, cites further parallels.

14–16 Most similar to the wording in these Herakleopolitan declarations is that of Oxyrhynchite documents: ἃ νεμήσεται περὶ ... καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. In Arsinoite documents one finds: ἃ καὶ μετάξω οὗ / ὁποῦ ἂν αἱρῶμαι. In Hermupolitan ones: κοίτη (κοίτης) ὅλου / παντὸς τόπου. D. Hagedorn, ZPE 21 (1976) 159–167, has analyzed these and other formulations typical for individual nomes. The new Herakleopolitan documents have a characteristically distinct wording, different from all the others, which still serves to assert the same rights: to pasture the animals wherever in the nome the owners so choose. These rights are guaranteed by the fact that they have paid the ἐννόμιον for that year. Cf. D. Hagedorn, *op. cit.* 161, citing Wallace, Taxation 86–88.

16 κατα]χωρῖσα[ι]: Cf. H.C. Youtie, BASP 15 (1978) 179–183.

### Translation

To Herakleides and Apollonios, (suborns) of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax in the Herakleopolite nome (for the 17th year of Caesar), from Dionysios, son of Dionysios, one of those from Shepherds' Village. I register for the present year the forty-five miscellaneous adult sheep and one pet (?) belonging to me, *in toto* forty-six, as well as the three goats mixed together with the sheep of Horion, son of Psenesis, and of Hermias, son of Aristomenes, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing, watering and abiding around the village and throughout the nome. (If it should please you, record) the registration, as is the custom.

## 2579

P. 25290 — Pois
17 x 10.3 cm. — Feb. 4, 13

Margins: upper 2, right ± 3, lower 3 cm. *Kollesis* 0.4–1 cm. from the right edge. Maybe the same hand as on **2578**. On the back at the bottom, written by a different hand in the opposite direction, is a single line – probably a stray note – with the numerals forty and six hundred fifty-.

(*m.2*) ]νων
] ιη

(*m.1*) ].ι τοῖς παρ' Εἰρη[ναί]ου
Ἡρ]ακλεοπολείτου τ[ὸ] ἐνεστὸς
5 Καίσ]αρος
]ρίωνος τῶν ἀπὸ Πώεως

] ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ
τὰ ὑπαρ]χοντά μοι πρόβατα̣ τέλη̣α
] ἓ̈ξ αἶγες ἐννέα καὶ
10 ] ἐπετήους ἄρνας ἐρείφους
῾Η]ρακλείδου τοῦ ῾Ηρακλείδου
]εων νεμόμενα καὶ
]μ̣ενα ἐν τῇ περί Πῶιν
] ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται κατα-
15 χωρῖσαι] ὡς καθήκει.
Καί]σαρος Μεχεὶρ θ¯

1 ἀνέγ]νων ?
2 The number following *iota* is illegible. Already fifteen animals are cited in the body of the document (l.9).
4 *l.* τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος.
6 Πώεως: Cf. **2436**.2; P. Hels. I 27.3; P. Pestman, P. Tor. Amenothes, p. 73, on the etymology.
8 *l.* τέλεια.
10 *l.* ἐφετείους, ἐρίφους.

Translation

(2nd hd.) I have read it. 18. (1st hd.) (To Herakleides and Apollonios, (suborns of Eirenaios) who is in charge of the pasture-tax in the) Herakleopolite (nome) for the present (17th year of) Caesar, from N.N., son of -rion, one of those from Pois. I register for the present year the six (miscellaneous) adult sheep, nine goats and ... belonging to me, (as well as this year's accompanying) lambs (and) kids ... (mixed together with the ...) of Herakleides, son of Herakleides, ... pasturing, (watering and abiding) in the ... around Pois (and throughout the nome). (If it should please you, record) the registration, as is the custom. (In the 17th year of) Caesar, Mecheir 9.

## 2580

P. 25291 Tosachmis
15.5 x 16.5 cm. Feb. 12, 13

Margins: upper 3, left 4.3 cm., right: variable. *Kollesis* almost flush with the right edge. Verso blank.

(*m.2*) Το]σ̣άχμεως
(*m.3*) Τοσ]ά̣χμιν εἴλ/(ηφα) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρς Μεχ/(εὶρ) ιζ¯
(*m.1*) [῾Ηρακλειδῃ καὶ] ᾿Απολλωνίῳ τοῖς παρ᾿ Εἰρηναίου
[τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐν]ν̣ομίωι τοῦ ῾Ηρακλεοπολειτου
5 [τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο]ς ιζ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος



[παρὰ ]...ωνος τοῦ ῞Ηρωνος τῶν
[ ἀπογράφ]ομαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος ἐξ ὑπαρ-
[χόντων μ]ο̣ι̣ πρόβατα τ[έλεια σύμμικ-]
[τα] ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ο̣[......]
10 δύο κα̣ὶ [τοὺ]ς ἐπακολ{λ}ουθοῦν[τας ἐφε-]
τήους ἄρνας ἐρίφους νεμόμε[να καὶ]
ποτιζόμενα αὐλιζόμενα περὶ Τοσάχμιν
--------------------------

1–2 Docket written by an underling in the registrar's office summarizing the essential elements of the declaration; cf. B. Kramer, P. Heid. IV 302 I 1–2 n.; C. Balconi, Aegyptus 64 (1984) 41–42.
1 Το]σ̣άχμεως: For further attestations see **2436**.4 n.; D. Hagedorn, P. Heid. IV 301 II 14 n.
10 *l.* ἐφετείους

Translation

(2nd hd.) ... of Tosachmis. (3rd hd.) ... Tosachmis. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 17. (1st hd.) (To Heraklides and) Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios (who is in charge of the) pasture-tax in the Herakleopolite nome (for the present) 17th year of Caesar, from -on, son of Heron, one of those from .... I register for the same year the one hundred and fifty (miscellaneous adult) sheep and two ... belonging to me, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing, watering and abiding around Tosachmis ....

## 2581

P. 25292
21.7 x 11.7 cm. 14/13

Margins: upper 3, left 0.8 cm., right: variable. Verso blank.

῾Ηρακ̣λ̣είδη[ι καὶ ᾿Απολλωνίωι τ]οῖς παρὰ
Εἰρηναίου τοῦ π[ρὸς τῷ ἐννομί]ῳ τοῦ ῾Ηρα-
κλεοπολείτου [τοῦ ἐνεσ]τ̣ῶ̣τος ιζ (ἔτους)
Καίσαρος.
5 παρὰ Ζ[...]ν̣ο[ς τοῦ] ᾿Απολλωνίου τῶν
ἀπὸ [.]..κακ̣...[....]ν. ἀπογράφομ[αι]
πρόβατα τέλεια σύνμικτα πεντή̣-
κοντα καὶ αἶγα[ς τ]έσσαρες καὶ
ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους ἄρνας
10 ἐρίφους καὶ τὰ ἐπι[με]μιγμένα μοι Ζή-
νωνος τοῦ Ζ̣[ή]ν̣ω̣νος πρόβατα πέντε

καὶ ποιμ̣.[....]ταεν[..]..ταδη ἐνλιπόν-
τα πρ......ραφα̣ν̣ τοῦ ἑκκαιδεκά-
του ἔτους .[ διεφ]θάρθαι νεμόμ-
15 ε̣ν̣α̣ κ̣α̣ὶ̣ πο̣[τιζόμενα καὶ αὐλιζόμ]ενα πε̣ρ̣[ὶ]
τὴν κ[ώμη]ν [καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ]
traces
traces
---------------------------
3 L

7 *l.* σύμμικτα
9 *l.* ἐφετείους.
12–13 *l.* ἐλλιπόντα.
14 διεφ]θάρθαι: Cf. **133**.6–11, **2235**.7, **2237**.15.

Translation

To Heraklides (and Apollonios), suborns of Eirenaios who (is in charge of the pasture-tax) of the Herakleopolite nome (for the) present 17th year of Caesar), from Z-, son of Apollonios, one of those from .... I register the fifty miscellaneous adult sheep and four goats as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids mixed together with the five sheep of Zenon, son of Zenon, and ... remainder ... sixteenth year ... perished, pasturing, (watering and abiding) around the village (and throughout the nome) ....

## 2582

P. 25293
29.5 x 12 cm.

Phebichis
Feb. 20, 13

Margins: upper 5, left: variable (1.5 – 2.8 cm.), right: negligible, lower 7 cm. Verso blank.

(*m.2*) Φεβίχεως Κ̣ωεί\τ/(ου) ε̣[ἴ]λ/(ηφα) (ἔτους) ιζ Καί(σαρος) Με\χ/(εὶρ) κε̄

(*m.1*) Ἡρακλίδῃ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι τοῖς πα-
ρ' Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐννομίῳ τοῦ
Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τοῦ ἐνεστῶ[τος ιζ ἔτους]
5 Καίσαρος.
παρὰ ..ον...[ το]ῦ̣ Ἡρα-
κλίδου τῶν ἀπὸ Φεβ[ί]χ̣εως
τοῦ Κωείτου. ἀπογράφομαι τὰ
ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα τέλη-
10 α σύνμικτα πεντήκοντα πέν-



τε καὶ ἐπιμεμιγμένα μοι—-
Σεμθέως Ὥρου Φυχίτης πρόβ[α-]
τα εἴκοσι πέντε αἶξ ις καὶ
Ἑρμνενοῦχις [.]......[ ]υχίτης
15 δεκα[ὲ]ξ καὶ Σαρα[πίωνος
δεκα καὶ Ὥρου .[..]..[ ]
καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετή-
ους ἄρνας ἐρίφους νεμόμενα πο-
τιζόμενα περὶ τὴν προκ⟨ε⟩ιμέ-
20 νην κώμην καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ νο-
μοῦ. ἐὰν φαίνηται καταχω-
ρῖσαι [τὴ]ν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει.

εὐτ̣ύχ⟨ε⟩ι
1 L

1, 8 Φεβίχεως: See BGU XIV, pp. 221–222; P. Hels. I, p. 36; P. Heid. IV 301 II 14–15; Falivene 208-209, on the varying administrative units to which Phebichis was assigned over the course of centuries.
9–10 *l.* τέλεια.
10 *l.* σύμμικτα.
12 *l.* Φυχίτου.
13 *l.* αἶγας.
14 *l.* Φ]υχίτου?, Ψ]υχίτου?: See on the latter P. Heid. IV 303 II 2 n.; A. Leone, "Psychis – un villagio egiziano di Herakleopolites," Tempo Nuovo 30 (1985) 16–29.
17 *l.* ἐφετείους.
23 Concluding salutations are relatively unusual in these documents (S. Avogadro, Aegyptus 15 [1935] 172).

Translation

(2nd hd.) Of Phebichis. Of Koites. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 25. (1st hd.) To Heraklides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for the present (17th year) of Caesar, from N.N., son of Heraklides, one of those from Phebichis of the Koites. I register the fifty-five miscellaneous adult sheep belonging to me, as well as the twenty-five sheep and 16 goats belonging to Semtheus, son of Horos, a Phychite (*i.e.* from the village of Phychis), and the sixteen ... belonging to Hermnenuchis, ... a -uchite, and the ten (?) belonging to Sarapion, and the ... of Horos ... mixed together with mine, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing (and) watering around the aforementioned village and throughout the nome. If it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell.

## 2583

P. 25294 — Phnebieus
27.2 x 12 cm. — Feb. 5, 13

Margins: upper 3, left 2.5, right: negligible, lower 6 cm. *Kollesis* 1.8 cm. from the left.

(*m.2*) Φνεβι(έως) ἔ\σ/(χον) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρ\ο/(ς) Με\χ/(εὶρ) ῑ̣

(*m.1*) Ἡρακλίδῃ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι
τοῖς παρ' Εἰρηναίου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἐν̈νομίῳ
τοῦ Ἡρ̣[ακλεοπολίτου τὸ] ἑπτακαι-
5 δέκατον ἔτ̣[ος Κα]ί[σ]α̣ρ̣[ος]
παρὰ Ἀπολλ... τοῦ Ο.[..]..ασσασ...
προεστῶτος τῶν Ἡρακλείου τοῦ
Σιμαρίστου τῶν 'ἀπὸ Φνε̣[βιέως]
ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ προκ⟨ε⟩ίμ[ενο]ν̣
10 ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος Καίσαρος τὰ ὑπάρ-
χοντά μοι πρόβατα [τέλεια]
σύνμεικτα διακόσια ἑξήκοντα ὀκτω
καὶ τοὺ⟨ς⟩ ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἐπετήους
ἄρνας καὶ αἶγας δεκαεπτὰ καὶ ἐρείφους
15 καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου ..
τε...ς ἐπιμεμιγμένας τοῖς ἐμοῖς προβ-
άτοις πρόβατα τέλεια ἐννέα σ̣ὺν
ἄρνασι ὥστ' εἶναι̣ τὸ πᾶν πρόβατα
traces
20 νεμόμενα καὶ ποτιζόμενα καὶ αὐ-
λιζόμενα περί Φνεβιέα καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ
νομοῦ. ἀξιῶ ἐὰν φαίνηται καταχωρῖσαι
τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει.
εὐτυχεῖτε

1 Φνεβι(έως): See BGU VIII *passim*, XIV **2434**.28, **2438**.22; P. Köln II 99.1 n.; Falivene 205.
Με\χ/(εὶρ) ῑ̣: The cipher might also be read as *beta* since up and down strokes are visible.
7 προεστῶτος: Cf. G. Parassoglou, Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt (= ASP 18), Amsterdam 1978, 53 (ref. thanks to W. Habermann).
15–16 *l.* ἑτέρας ?
19 All told there were 268 + 17 + 9 = 294 beasts, and one expects here some sort of corresponding wording. However, the remaining traces are eminently inconclusive.



Translation

(2nd hd.) Of Phnebieus. I have had it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 10. (1st hd.) To Heraklides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the (Herakleopolite nome) for the seventeenth year of Caesar, from Apoll-, son of N.N., overseer of the (sheep) of Herakleios, son of Simaristos, one of those from Phnebieus. I register for the aforementioned seventeenth year of Caesar the two hundred and sixty-eight miscellaneous (adult) sheep belonging to me as well as this year's accompanying lambs and seventeen goats and kids as well as the nine adult sheep of Herakleides, son of Herakleides, ... mixed together with mine, so that there are in all ... sheep, pasturing, watering and abiding around Phnebieus and throughout the nome. I ask, if it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell.

## 2584

P. 25295 — Herakleopolites
14 x 13.5 cm. — Feb. 20, 13

Margins: upper 1.7, left 3, right: negligible. *Kollesis* 1 – 1.5 cm. from the left. Verso blank.

(*m. 2*) ... εἴ\λ/(ηφα) (ἔτους) ιζ Καί(σαρος) Με\χ/(εὶρ) κε

(*m.1*) Ἡ̣ρ̣α̣κ̣λ̣ε̣ί̣δηι κ̣α̣ι̣ Ἀ̣π̣ο̣λ̣λωνίωι τ̣ο̣ῖ̣ς π̣α̣ρ̣' Ε̣ἰ̣ρ̣η[ναίου τοῦ]
[πρὸς τ̣ῶ̣ι̣ ἐ̣ν̣νομίωι τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ Ἡρακλ̣ε̣ο̣π̣ο̣λ̣ί̣τ̣ο̣υ̣
...[ ]....[
5 παρὰ [..].[.]ρέωνος traces
τ̣ῶ̣ν̣ ἀπὸ Τιλ....ε̣υ̣ τοῦ Κωίτου. ἀπογρά-
φομαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (ἔτος) τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι πρό-
βατ̣α̣ [τέλεια] σύμμικτα traces
traces καὶ τοὺς ἐπακο̣λ̣ο̣υ̣θ̣ο̣ῦ̣ν̣-
10 τας ἐπετ[ήου]ς ἄρνας ἐρίφους νεμόμεν[α]
ποτιζόμ[ενα] αὐλιζόμενα περὶ τὴν π̣ρ̣[ο-]
κειμένη[ν κώ]μ̣ην ενπτο[.]κλ̣ω̣τ̣[ ]
δι' ὅλου τοῦ [νο]μοῦ. ἐὰν φαίνηται κατα[χω-]
ρῖσαι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει. ε̣ὐ̣τ̣ύ̣χ̣(ει)
--------------------------
1,7 L 1 και

6 Τιλ....ε̣υ̣: The next to last letter could also be *beta* or *theta*.

Translation

(2nd hd.) I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 25. (1st hd.) To Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome … From -reon, son of N.N., one of those from Til..eu of the Koites. I register for the same year the … sheep belonging to me … and this year's accompanying lambs (and) goats, pasturing, watering and abiding around the aforementioned village … and throughout the entire nome. If it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell.

## 2585

P. 25296 — Peens-
9.2 x 17 cm. — Feb., 13

Margins: upper 3.3, left 1.5, right: negligible. Verso blank.

(*m. 2*) Πεενσ[...] εἴλ\/(ηφα) (ἔτους) [ι]ζ Καίσαρ\ο/(ς) Με\χ/(εὶρ) [..]

(*m.1*) Ἡρακλείδῃ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ᾽ Εἰρηναίου [τοῦ πρὸς τῶι]
ἐννομίωι τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἑπτακαι[δ]έκατον
[ἔ]τος Καίσαρος.
5 traces
traces [ἀπογράφο]μαι εἰς τὸ προ[..]......
τ̣ὰ̣ ὑ̣π̣ά̣ρ̣χ̣ο̣ν̣τ̣ά̣ μοι πρόβ̣α̣τα τέλεια [σ]ύμμικτα εκ....ο̣ν̣τ̣α̣
[....] traces ἓξ καὶ τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς̣ ἐπακο[λ]ουθοῦντας ἐπ̣[ετήους
---------------------------

1 Πεενσ[: Various Herakleopolitan village names could be restored; cf. BGU XIV, p. 279.
6 προ[..]......: Presumably προκείμενον.

Translation

(2nd hd.) Peens-. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir … (1st hd.) "To Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios (who is in charge of the) pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for the present seventeenth year of Caesar. … I register for the aforementioned (?) … (year) the … miscellaneous adult sheep belonging to me as well as this year's accompanying ….



## 2586

P. 25297
21.3 x 12.5 cm. — January 28, 5

Margins: left 2 cm. *Kollesis* ± 4 cm. from the left. Verso blank.

This declaration presents by far the largest number of sheep and goats ever registered for one individual. In other documents recording hundreds or thousands of animals, apparently corporations or sometimes even whole villages are involved (*e.g.* P. Wash. Univ. I 1; P. Berl. Möller 7, P. Hamb. I 34; P. Oxy. Hels. 8). Individuals rarely declared hundreds of sheep (*e.g.* P. Amh. 73; P. Hamb I 34). Cf. C. Balconi, Aegyptus 64 (1984) 43–44.

(*m.2*) Την...[

(*m.1*) Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου στρατηγοῦ
καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων
παρὰ Θεοφίλου τοῦ προεστῶτος τῶν
5 Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Φιλοξένου προβάτων.
ἀπογράφομαι εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς κε (ἔτος) Καίσαρος
τὰ ὑπάρχοντα τῶι Ἀθηνοδώρωι πρόβατα
τέλεια σύμμικτα τρισχίλια διακόσια, αἶγες
πεντήκοντα δύο \τρεῖς/ καὶ τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας
10 ἐφετήους ἄρν[α]ς \κ̣α̣ὶ̣ τῶι/ ἐρίφουςνεμόμενα
ποτιζόμενα αὐλιζόμενα ἐν τοῖς περὶ
Βουσῖριν καὶ δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐὰν φαίνηται
καταχωρῖσαι τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ὡς καθήκει.
εὐτύχει.
15 (*m.3*) ὧν Ὧρος πρόβα(τα) Ἀρμε̣ αἶγ\ε/(ς) κζ Πέρα
Πετεαρ.[.]ν\ι/( ) ψπ αἶγε(ς) ις Πανεχώ(της)
Ἀ͵Σοε αἶγ\ε/(ς) ις (γίν.) τὰ προκ(είμενα) πρόβα(τα) ͵ΓΣ αἶγ(ες) νγ

(*m.4*) κατακεχ(ώρηκα) (ἔτους) κε Καίσαρος Μεχεὶρ β

1 Την...[: Cf. P. Hels. I 20: Τνήει and J. Frösén *ad loc.* However, the reading here seems clear.
2 Ἀπολλωνίωι τῶι παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου: unknown.
Ἡρακλείδου στρατηγοῦ: The same *strategos* of **1188**.1 (after 15/14) and maybe **2609**.1.
2–3 στραγηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: These two offices were already combined under Ptolemaic administration (H. Bengtson, Die Strategie i. d. hellenistischen Zeit III [= MB 36], Munich 1952, 253 *s.v.*; Wilcken, Gdzge. 149; W. Kunkel, APF 8 [1927] 178). For the continuation of this practice in the early Roman period see Oertel, Liturgie 385–386.
4–5 Cf. **2629**.7.

5 Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Φιλοξένου: Is this the same Athenodoros, *dioecete* and *epimelete*, whose archive is published in this volume? The discrepant filiation militates against this, since this Athenodoros is son of Philoxenos and the other son of Menelaos (see **2615**).
8 *l.* αἶγας.
10 *l.* καὶ τούς?
14 pap. ε̅ῦ̅τυχε̣ῖ̅
15ff. These are undoubtedly the names of the shepherds and goatherds with the corresponding number of animals under their care. Cf. P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 70 (1987) 135–136; D. Hagedorn, P. Heid. IV 303.12 n.
Πέρα: a toparchy; cf. **2662**.12 n.; Falivene 207.
The figures for the sheep tally with the number given in line 8. The number of goats, however, results in 59. According to line 9 there are only 53.

Translation

(2nd hd.) Ten-. (1st hd.) To Apollonios, (suborn) of Heraklides, *strategos* and head of the revenues, from Theophilos, supervisor of the sheep of Athenodoros, son of Philoxenos. I register for the present 25th year of Caesar the three thousand two hundred miscellaneous adult sheep and fifty-three goats as well as this year's accompanying lambs and the kids pasturing, watering and abiding around Busiris and throughout the nome. If it should please you, record the registration, as is the custom. Farewell. (3rd hd.) Horos: 1145 sheep, 27 goats; (in the toparchy of) Pera: Petear-: 780 (sheep), 16 goats; Panechotes: 1275 (sheep), 16 goats; total of the aforementioned sheep 3200, goats 53.
(4th hd.) I have registered it. Year 25 of Caesar, Mecheir 2.

## 2587

P. 25298 — Tilothis
16 x 10.5 cm. — Jan./Feb., 13

Margins: upper *ca.* 1 cm., left 1.5 cm., right negligible.

(*m.2*) Τιλώθε\ω/(ς) ἔλ(αβον) (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρ(ος) Με\χ/(εὶρ) [..]¯
(*m. 1*) Ἡρακλε[ίδῃ καὶ Ἀ]πολλωνίωι τοῖς παρ' Εἰ-
ρηναίου πρὸς τῷ ἐν⟨ν⟩ομίῳ τοῦ
Ἡρακλεοπολίτου τὸ ἐνεστὸς ιζ ... π-
5 αρὰ Ἄμμωνος τοῦ Ἀμφονείκου τῶν
ἀ̣π̣ὸ̣ Τ̣ι̣λ̣ώ̣θ̣εως κατοίκων καὶ παρὰ̣
[break of five lines]
12 τα πάντα πρ̣όβατ̣α̣ [τ]έλεια ...
δε..[..]τε[.]ασ.. ἐ̣πι[μεμ]ιγμένα ἀλλή-
λοις καὶ τοὺς ἐ̣[πακολου]θοῦντας
15 ἄρνας ἐρίφους ν[εμόμεν]α̣ πο-
τιζόμενα καὶ αὐλ̣[ιζόμενα περ]ὶ



Τιλῶθιν καὶ δι' ὅλου̣ [τοῦ νομοῦ. ἐὰν]
φαίνηται καταχωρῖσαι ...
---------------------------

5 Ἀμφονείκου: This is the first instance of this name in Egypt.
8 ἐπι[μεμ]ιγμένα ἀλλήλοις: Cf. B. Boyaval, ZPE 6 (1970) 12; H. Frisk, Aegyptus 10 (1929) 95.

Translation

(2nd hd.) Of Tilothis. I have received it. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir .... (1st hd.) To Herakleides and Apollonios, suborns of Eirenaios who is in charge of the pasture-tax of the Herakleopolite nome for the present 17th ... from Ammon, son of Amphoneikes, one of the *catoecs* from Tilothis and from ... the entire adult sheep ... mixed together with the others, as well as this year's accompanying lambs (and) kids pasturing, watering and abiding around Tilothis and throughout (the nome. If) it should please you, record ....

## 2588 Receipt

P. 25306
14.5 x 12.8 cm. — 10/9

Margins: upper 1.7, left 1.3, right negligible. The papyrus is of especially coarse quality. A strip with vertically running fibers 0.5 cm. wide has been attached at the upper right and the right line ends have been written over it. To the right of the receipt is attached a blank piece of papyrus of approximately the same format which probably should have been removed during the extraction of this papyrus from the cartonnage. Verso blank.
Korkas, a banker, certifies having received from Paas, son of Paas, a beer-seller, payments for beer, bread(?) and various other commodities.

Κορκᾶς τρ(απεζίτης) ζυτοπ\ώ/(λῃ)
Παᾶς Παᾶτος χαίρ[(ειν). ἀπέχω]
παρά σου τὴν τιμὴ(ν) ζ[ύ]το[υ]
ἐπὶ λόγ\ο/(ν) ἀφ' \ὧ/(ν) ὀφείλε[ται ὑπὸ]
5 τῆς γυναικός σου
ὀβολ(οὺς) δε\κ/(α)πέντε (γίν.) ιε
(ἔτους) κα Καίσα(ρος) ....( ) κ[.]
ὁμο(ίως) κη̅ ὑπὲρ Ἀμμωνί[ου]
ω̣σ̣ .\/( ) Ἀκουσι\λ/(άῳ) Εὐδαίμο[νος]
10 τι\μ/(ῆς) ἀρτ̣\δ/( ) δραχ\μ/(ὰς) τέσσαρας (γίν.)(δρ.) δ̣
traces ειδ( ) ὀβολ(οὺς) δέ\κ/(α) δύο (γίν.) ιβ
]δε\κ/(α) ι̣. .λ̣..

].δύο ὀβολ\/(οὺς)

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1τρ\ 3 τψ̄ 6/ 7 L καισ̄ ... 9 ...η
10 τψ̄, /< 11...δ, /

1 ζυτοπ\ώ/(λῃ): Cf. C. Nelson, BGU XV, pp. 88–89; H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 82–86 (add P. Sattler, Studien aus dem Gebiet der alten Geschichte Wiesbaden 1962, 37–38).
2 *l.* Παᾶτι.
9 *l.* ὥστε?: Cf. **2577** vso. 55.
10 αργ.\δ/( )?, αρι̣\δ/?, ἀρτ̣⟨ι⟩\δ/(ίου)? on the latter of which see Battaglia, Artos 73.
11 *l.* δώδεκα.

Translation

Korkas, banker, to Paas, son of Paas, beer-seller, greetings. (I have received) from you the price of beer on account from that which was owed (by) your wife: fifteen obols, total 15. In the 21st year of Caesar, (month) 2-. Similarly on the 28th, (I received) on behalf of Ammonios ..., for Akusilaos, son of Eudaimon, for the price of bread (?), four drachmas, total 4 dr. ... twelve obols, total 12 ob. ....

## 2589–2593
## Declarations on Oath

Except for **2589** the following declarations on oath derive from the same coffin which produced the archive of Athenodoros.

### 2589

P. 25157 — Techtho
27 x 15.8 cm. — August 5, 28

Margins: left 0.8 cm., lower 4.3 cm.; right: variable. Interlinear space between lines 2 and 3: 4.5 cm. Except for a thin strip on the right, the upper third of the papyrus has broken off. The document in question, however, occupies only the lower third of the papyrus. In the upper left corner are remnants of an account written in a different hand. One gets the impression that someone used the space at the end of an account and at the bottom of a larger sheet of papyrus for writing his cession of land. The document is written in a script very similar to that of **2591**. On the verso are faint traces of an account arranged according to days.
Soterichos, son of Aphrodisios, swears that he will cede his claims on ten aruras of land in Ponches's tract to Herakleios, son of Herakleides. Unusual and inexplicable is the exact nature of the relationship between Soterichos and a certain Herodes, son of Herodes (ll. 6–7). Taking the Greek preposition εἰς in line 6 at face



value gives the impression that Soterichos has the land *for* Herodes, as if he were holding it in safe-keeping for Herodes who might be a minor or otherwise incapable of assuming full possession of the land for himself.
Parallel documents are numerous, *e.g.* P. Tebt. 380; P. Mich. 350–352; P. Lugd.-Bat. XIX 10; SB XII 10880, 10881, 11233. Demotic parallels: Pestman, Recueil, pp. 6ff.; K.-Th. Zauzich, Die ägyptische Schreibertradition, Wiesbaden 1968, 73ff. For further discussion cf. A.B. Schwarz, Die öffentliche und private Urkunde im römischen Ägypten, Leipzig 1920, 207ff., especially 219f.; Mitteis, Gdzge., pp. 167ff.; P.J. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 19 (1979) 87–99.

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].[ ].[
(*m.1*) ]νε( ) γε\ω/(ργ- ) ed.

(*m.2*) Σωτήριχος Ἀφροδισίου τ̣ῶ̣ν ἀπὸ κώμης Τεχθ̣[ω]ι̣
ὀμνύω{ι} Καισαρον Αὐτοκράτορα Θεοῦ Υἱὸν εἶ μὴν
5 ἐξίστασθαι Ἡρακλείωι Ἡρακ̣λείδου τῶν ἐν τῶι
Π̣ογχήους πεδίου ὑπαρχούσων μοι εἰς Ἡρώδην
Ἡρώδου [ἀ]ρουρῶν δ̣έ̣κ̣α καὶ μήτε ἐπελεύσεσθ[αι]
μηδὲ μη[δέν]α τῶν υἱῶν μ̣ου μηδ' ἄλλον
ὑπὲρ ἡμ̣ῶ̣ν μηδένα ἢ ἐκστήσω τοῖς ἰδίοις
10 ἀνηλώμασι. εὐορκοῦντι μέμ μοι εὖ εἴηι
ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία.
(ἔτους) β Καίσαρο̣ς̣ Μεσορ\ὴ/ ιβ

3 Τεχθ̣[ω]ι̣: Cf. **2440**.38f. n. and p. 222; P. Hels. I, p. 108.; Falivene 207-208.
4 ὀμνύω: Cf. Seidl, Eid I, 17ff.; Wilcken, Chrest. 111 introd., for the form of the oath.
*l.* Καίσαρα Α.Θ.Υ.: This titulature, which is attested in **543**, corresponds to the Latin *Caesar Imperator divi filius* (U. Wilcken, APF 6 [1920] 423; *id.*, Gdzge. 120; *id.*, Chrest., p. 142). On Augustus's titulatures and epithets in general see: Geraci, Genesi 153f.; D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle, Darmstadt 1990, 61–68; M. Amelotti in: Egitto e storia antica 243f.
6 Π̣ογχήους, Ν̣ογχήους?: Cf. **1197.2**: Νου̣χ̣ε̣ως, **198**.2: Νου̣χ̣ιους; Drew-Bear 146: Κ̣ολογχήους.
*l.* πεδίῳ.
9 ἐκστήσω *scil.* τὸν ἐπελεύσομενον.

Translation

I, Soterichos, son of Aphrodisios, one of those from the village of Techthoi, verily swear by Caesar Emperor, Son of God, that I cede to Herakleios, son of Herakleides, the ten aruras belonging to me for Herodes, son of Herodes, in the tract of Ponches, and that neither (I) nor any of my sons nor any other on our behalf shall prosecute him, otherwise I shall expel (him) at my own expense. May it be well for me if I swear truly; if I do not, then the opposite. Year 2 of Caesar, Mesore 12.

# 2590

P. 25233
29.5 x 22 cm.

Korphotoi
August 1, 25

Margins: left 2 cm., right negligible, upper: 5 cm., lower: 7.5 (on the left document), 9 cm. (on the right document). Intercolumnar: 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 8.5 cm. from the left. Verso blank.
The village elders of Korphotoi swear that they will undertake the upkeep of three canals near the village and in an accompanying document on the same sheet of papyrus acknowledge the receipt of 120 silver drachmas in funding for this work. For further discussion on the implications of this document see BASP 16 (1979) 25ff., where this papyrus was first published. In the meantime a small fragment has been added to the lower right corner of the document on the left and several readings improved.
Cf. Suetonius, *Vit. Aug*. 18, on Augustus's concern for the canals of Egypt. In general, R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Antike Wasserkultur, Munich 1990.

Col. I
[῾Ατρῆ]ς ῾Αρπαήσιος [κα]ὶ Λαδάμας Πελάσιος
καὶ ῾Αρσιῆσις ῞Ωρου καὶ Πετεῦρις Πετοσίριος
καὶ ῾Ατρῆς Σεμθέως καὶ Σεμθονάης Μεγχείους
καὶ ῾Αρσισόις ῾Αρπαήσιος πρεσβύτεροι τῶν
5 ἀπὸ κώμης Κορφοτοὶ ὀμνύομεν Θεὸν
Αὐτοκράτορα Καίαρα Θεοῦ Υἱὸν εἶ μὴν ἄξειν
καὶ στεγνώσειν καὶ παρυλιεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν
κώμην δημόσια χώματα τρ̣ί̣α ὧν εἶναι
τὸ λεγόμενον Ζανήριος καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον—
10 Μεγάλης ὁδοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ λιβὸς το[ῦ .].ωνίου
παραδείσου καὶ ἐπισκάψειν κ̣α̣ὶ .[..]α̣ρήσειν
... νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρ̣α̣[ς ...]μένον [ ± 8 ]
α̣....ραγη καὶ α.ακοπα μέχ[ρι τῆς] τοῦ
ποταμοῦ ἀποβάσεως ὄντες ἀλλ̣η̣[λέγγυοι]
15 ε... εὐορκοῦσι μὲν ἡμῖν εὖ εἴη [ ± 8 ]α̣

~ ἐγράφη διὰ Θέωνος [μ]ο̣νογρ\ά/(φου)
[διὰ τὸ] φάσκειν μὴ [ε]ἰδέναι [γ]ρ̣[άμ]μ\α/(τα)
(ἔτους) . [Με]σορὴ η¯



Col. II
῾Ατρῆς ῾Αρπαήσιος κ[αὶ αὐτοῦ] ἀ̣δελφὸς
῾Αρσισόις καὶ Λαδάμας Πελάσιος καὶ
῾Αρσιῆσις ῞Ωρου καὶ ῾Ατρῆς Σεμθέως
καὶ Σεμθονάης Μεγχείους τῶν ἀπὸ
5 κώμης Κορφοτοὶ ῾Ηρακλείωι τοπάρ-
χηι ᾿Αγήματος. ὁμολογοῦμεν
ἀπέχειν παρά σου διὰ τῆς ᾿Αρείου
δημοσίας τραπέζης εἰς ἀπεργασίαν
ὧν κεχειρογραφήκαμεν χ̣ω̣μάτων
10 τ̣ρ̣ι̣ῶ̣[ν] περὶ τὴν κ̣ώ̣μ̣η[ν] ἀργυρίου
δραχμ̣ὰ̣ς ἑκα[τ]ὸν εἴκοσι (γίν.) (δρ.) ρ̣[κ ...]
ἃς καὶ ἀ̣π̣ε̣ργώμεθα ἐξ ὑγιοῦς κ̣α̣ὶ
οὐδὲν ἐγκαλοῦμεν.

~ ἐγράφη διὰ Θέωνος μονογρ\ά/(φου) διὰ τὸ
15 φάσκειν μὴ εἰδέναι γράμμα(τα)
(ἔτους) ε Με⟨σ⟩ορὴ η¯

Col. I
1 Λαδάμας: Cf. **2600**.1 n.
7 τὰ: BASP τ[ά].
8 τρ̣ί̣α: BASP τ[ρία].
5 Κορφοτοί: Cf. **2436.**ll n.; Calderini-Daris, Dizionario and Dizionario. Suppl. *s.v.*
10 το[ῦ .].ωνίου: BASP το[ῦ Αμ]μωνίου.
11 ]κ̣ρησειν?
12 νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρα[ς: BASP...δεικτας καὶ πεφ[.
13 λ̣ί̣μ̣ν̣η α̣ἰ̣γ̣ι̣α̣λή? Cf. D. Bonneau, YCS 28 (1985) 131–143.
κοπα: Cf. P. Bour. 15. 142: Κοπᾶ. Are these maybe place names here?
14 ἀλλ̣η[λέγγυοι]: BASP αν[.
15 ε...: BASP εἶναι.
16 μονογρ\ά/(φου): BASP ν̣[ομογρ(άφου)].
17 [ε]ἰδέναι [γ]ρ̣[αμ]μ\α/(τα): BASP [εἰδέναι γράμμ]α(τα)
18 (ἔτους) . [Με]σορὴ η¯: BASP (ἔτους) . [ ]¯

Col. II
6 ᾿Αγήματος: Cf. BGU XIV, p. 220; **2392**.2 n., **2562**.5n.
14 μονογρ\ά/(φου): BASP νομογρ(άφου).

Translation

We, Hatres, son of Harpaesis; Ladamas, son of Pelasis; Harsiesis, son of Horos; Peteuris, son of Petosiris; Hatres, son of Semtheus; Semthonaes, son of Menches; and Harsisois, son of Harpaesis, elders of the inhabitants of the village Korphotoi, swear by the deified Emperor Caesar, son of God, that we will establish (?), make watertight and clean out the three public canals near the village, namely the so-called (canal of) Zaneris, the so-called (canal of) the Great Way, and (the canal) to

the west of -nios' garden - that we will dig (them) out and ... night and day ... until the river recedes ... acting (as mutual guarantors for each other) .... May it be well with us if we swear truly; (if not, the opposite).
It was written by Theon, *monographos*, (because) they say they are illiterate. Year 5, Mesore 8.
Hatres, son of Harpaesis; and (his) brother Harsisois; Ladamas, son of Pelasis; Harsiesis, son of Horos; Hatres, son of Semtheus; and Semthonaes, son of Menches, inhabitants of the village Korphotoi, to Herakleios, *toparch* of Agema. We acknowledge having received from you through the public bank of Arios, for the maintenance of the three canals near the village which we have specified in writing, one hundred and twenty silver drachmas, total 120 dr., for which we will duly work, and we will not start any prosecution.
It was written by Theon, *monographos*, because they say they are illiterate.

## 2591

P. 25385 — Tertonpetochen
25.2 x 13.5 cm. — August 4, 2

Margins: upper 9.5, lower 8.5, left 1.5 cm., right negligible. The hand is remarkably similar to that of **2589.**
The object of concern here is a run-down house worth 80 silver drachmas, seemingly part of an inheritance. However, given the abraded state of much of the papyrus and the ambiguous forms of some of the letters, so far it has proved impossible to determine what is happening to the house.

Αντ[....]νυσ[..]..[.].ν̣α̣ ἀπὸ τῆς Τερτονπετοχην
τοῦ Ἀγήματος ὀμνύω Καίσαρα Αὐ[τοκράτορα]
Θεοῦ Υἱ[ὸ]ν Δία Ἐλευθέριον Σεβαστὸν ε[ἶ μὴν .....]
η̣λ̣...ε̣..ουτας καταλελ{ε}ιφθὲν ..σ̣τ̣ο̣υ̣
5 αὐτοῦ κ̣' εμ̣α̣⟨υ⟩τὴν οἰκίαν συνπεπτωκυῖαν ἀξί-
αν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ὀγδοήκοντα· ἕτερον δὲ
οὐδὲν αὐτὸ ἢ καταλελ.φεν. εὐορκοῦντι μέν [μο]ι
εὖ ⟨ε⟩ἴη ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ ἐναντία
(ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος Μεσορ\ὴ/ ια̅

1 Αμ̣η̣-?, Αν̣η̣-?, Αν̣ι̣-?, Αμ̣ι̣-?, ἀντ[\ί/(γραφον) Διο]νύσ[ιος?
Τερτονπετοχην: *addendum lexicis*. The interpretation of the prefix τερτον- in such village names is still uncertain (Drew-Bear 289). Τερτονπετοχην is perhaps a rapidly written Τερτονπετεχων. Cf. P. Lille I 31.1; PSI Manfredi XV 1546.36. (Reff. thanks to R. Falivene.)
2 Ἀγήματος: Cf. **2392**.2. n., **2562**.5 n.
5 *l.* συμπεπτωκυῖαν: Cf. V. Martin, Rech. de Papyrologie 2 (1962) 56, on ἐν συμπτώσει and similar expressions.



Translation
Copy(?). I, Dionysios, son of -na-, from (the village) Tertonpetochen of (the) Agema (toparchy), swear by Caesar Emperor, Son of God, Zeus Eleutherios Augustus, that verily ... the run-down house of mine worth eighty silver drachmas. (I have?) no other than the one left (to me?). May it be well with me if I swear truly; if not, the opposite. Year 28 of Caesar, Mesore 11.

## 2592

P. 25286 — Phys
26.5 x 20.5 cm.

Margins: upper 7, lower 9, left 2.5, right 7.5. *Kollesis* 6.5 cm. from the left. Verso blank.
Dionysodoros, son of Dionysodoros, from the nome capital but for the time being residing in Phys, has built himself a house using persea wood to do so. It is in this regard that he swears an oath, the contents of which are for the most part lost. Considering what we know about wood in Egypt in general and the persea tree in particular, Dionysodoros probably either swore to reforest the tract of land where the persea trees grew or else to pay a fine for having illegally felled them.

Διονυσόδωρος Διονυσοδώρου τῶν
ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεως κατοικῶν δὲ
ἐγ κώμῃ Φῦς ὄμνυμι Καίσαρα Αὐτο-
κράτορα Θεοῦ Υἱὸν Σεβαστὸν εἶ μὴν
5 ἃ κατακέχρημαι εἰς ἣν ᾠκοδόμην
οἰκίαν ἐν [κώμ]ῃ Φῦς περσέινα ξ̣ύ̣λα
ἀριθμῷ [ ±8 ].[...].[..]νουπτα
παρ' Ἀπία̣ [ ].ενου̣ πρὸς
τῆι κυ̣π̣[αρίσσῳ ±7 ].....η( )
10 εμηεδ[ ±15 ]....
κεκοφ̣θ̣ῆ[ναι εὐορκοῦντι] μέν μοι [ε]ὖ εἴη,
ἐφιορκου̣[ντι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία]
[ Καίσαρ]ος ..... ιη̅

2–3 Cf. Braunert, Binnenwanderung 131ff., on metropolis residents who for various reasons reside in villages of the same nome.
5 *l.* ᾠκοδόμουν.
6 Φῦς: Cf. **2433.**49, **2438.**40, **2440.**26; J. Frösén, P. Hels. I 9.8 n.
περσέινα: Cf. Plutarch, *de Iside et Osir.* 68; P. Oxy. 2969, introd.; LdÄ *s.vv. Persea, Baum, Holz*; K. Worp, P. van Minne, ZPE 78 (1989) 140; N. Baum, Arbres et arbustes de l'Egypte ancienne (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 31), Louvain 1988. See B. Kramer, APF 41 (1995) 226–227, on the persia tree.

For the interdictions restricting the uncontrolled felling of trees see G. Parássoglou, APF 24–25 (1976) 91–99; M. Parca in: Congr. 17, vol. III 1231; P. van Minnen, K. Worp, ZPE 78 (1989) 139–142; R. Jasnow, Enchoria 18 (1991) 46, 48 (in a Demotic wisdom text). See S. Daris, Aegyptus 69 (1989) 30–36, for an official listing of acacia trees which have been cut down.
On logging and timber in Greco-Roman Egypt: M. Müller, CPR X = Griech. Texte VII 59 notes.
On the sanctity and the cult of trees in antiquity see C. Boetticher, Der Baumkult der Hellenen und Römer, Berlin 1856; W. Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldkulte, Strassburg 1877 (2. Aufl.), Berlin 1904–1905; L. Weniger, Altgriechischer Baumkultus (= Das Erbe der Alten, n.F. 2), Leipzig 1919; O. Kern, "Baumkultus", RE III,1 (1897) 155-167; A. Henrichs, BASP 16 (1979) 85–108; H. Kees, Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten, (2nd ed.) Berlin 1956, 83–92; M.L. Buhl, JNES 6 (1947) 80–97; H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, 82–87; V. Loret, Sphinx 6 (1903) 99–103; A.D. Nock, CR 38 (1924) 107ff.; J. Doresse, Des hiéroglyphes à la croix, Istanbul 1960, 26ff.; Hopfner, Plutarch 256ff.; J. Lindsay, Men and Gods on the Roman Nile, London 1968, 94, 180f., 269, 311, 457ff.; J. Frazer, The Fasti of Ovid III, London 1929, 351–358; *id.*, The Golden Bough, London 1955, vol. II ch. 9,10,20; G. Maspero, Etudes de Mythologie II, Paris 1893, 224–225; B. Jordan, J. Perlin, "On the Protection of Sacred Groves" in: Essays pres. to Sterling Dow (= GRBM 10), Durham, N.C., 1984, 71–75; M. Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, London-New York 1958, 265ff., 327ff. (bibliography); S. Amigues, "Sur le persea d'Egypte," in: Hommages à F. Daumas, Montpelier 1986, 25–31; B. de Rachewiltz, Egitto magico religioso, Turin 1961, 147f., 201–202 (bibliography); G. Roeder, Volksglauben im Pharaonenreich, Stuttgart 1952, 135–136. In medieval Europe: J.-C. Schmitt, Le saint lévrier, Paris 1979, 38–39; M. Crampon, Le culte de l'arbre et de la forêt en Picarde, Amiens-Paris 1936. In modern Egypt: W.S. Blackman, "Sacred Trees in Modern Egypt," JEA 11 (1925) 56–57.
11 κεκοφθῆ[ναι: See Gignac, Morphology 308–309, for the various heteroclitic forms attested for this verb. This one is not among them.

Translation

I, Dionysodoros, son of Dionysodoros, from Herakleopolis but residing in the village of Phys, verily swear by Caesar Emperor, Son of God, Augustus, that the persea wood which I used for building a house in Phys, in the amount of ... in addition to cypress ... felled. May it be well with me (if I swear truly); if not, (the opposite). Year ... of Caesar, (month) 18.

## 2593

P. 25285 — Phebichis
14.7 x 14.4 cm.

Margins: upper 0.7, lower 5.5, right negligible. *Kollesis* 10.4 cm. from the right edge. Verso blank.
Judging from the length of the lacunae in lines 2 and 10 (*ca.* twenty-five letters from the left), at least half of this papyrus is missing. However, there is scant hope of ever recovering the missing portion, since it seems to have been destroyed by



embalming fluids. Nonetheless, the wording of this text is so intriguing – and obscure – that it deserves publication despite its fragmentary state.

[ ] Φεβίχεως̣ τῶν στρεβλωτῶν πράκτωρ ἀρ-
[γυρικῶν ] Ἀυτοκράτορα εἶ μὴν τοῦ μεμερισμένου
[ ]μ̣ενοι πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦ⟨ν⟩τες
[ ] ἐπιστημένης κατὰ βαθμὸν τ{ο}έσσαρα ἃ καὶ
5 [ ] τῶν ἀ[π]ὸ τῆς κώμης ἀργυρίου{ς} δρα{σ}χμὰς
[ ἐ]ν ξέναις ἐβτομήκοντα τρίων ὧν ἥμι-
[συ ]ω̣ καὶ μηδὲν ἀπη̣τηκέναι πλ⟦ι⟧ὴν ἢ̣
[ ].ν ἀργυρίου δραχμ⟨ὰς⟩ {τι} διακόσιαι
[ ].ηκ̣ηκέναι ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ χρόνοις
10 [εὐορκοῦντι μέν μοι εὖ εἴη, ἐφορ]κοῦντι δὲ τἀναντία.
[ (ἔτους) .. Καίσαρος Χ]οιὰχ κε̄

1 Φεβίχεως τῶν στρεβλωτῶν: It seems only a remote possibility that the usual and already well-attested village Phebichis should here be called "Phebichis of the torturers." More plausible, considering the scribe's idiosyncratic orthography, is to assume either a grammatical or syntactical irregularity – or *lapsus calami*.
στρεβλωτῶν: According to LSJ the word is attested only in the glossaries with its Latin equivalent *eculeus* "torture rack." The sole cognate word in the papyri is στρέβλωσις in P. Oxy. 3430.24–25 and P. Mert. I 45.4. See in general Hug, "Rota," RE IA,1, 1151–1152, and J. Henderson, Aristophanes. Lysistrata, Oxford 1987, 175.
2 Ἀυτοκράτορα: The only oath where this word appears at the end is P. Tebt. II 382.21: ὀμνύο Καίσαραν Θεοῦ υἱόν Ἀ. – cf. C. Balconi, Aegyptus 56 (1976) 214. Presumably something like this once stood in the lacuna here.
Comparing the lacuna here with the one in l. 10, one arrives at the sum of *ca.* 25 letters missing from the left.
3 *l.* κατοικοῦ⟨ν⟩τας: Cf. G. Horsley, NDIEC 5, p.143, for parallels.
6 *l.* ἑβδομήκοντα.
7 ἀπ̣ητηκέναι: The *pi* is smeared almost to the point of illegiblility.
9 *l.* ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτου χρόνοις or ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ νῦν χρόνοις.

## 2594 Receipt

P. 25258 — Chennis
13.1 x 15.7 cm. — July 17, 8

Margins: upper 1.5, left 1.5, right negligible. Verso blank.
Ten men, probably hunters and residents of the village of Chennis, have evidently sold their share of half a house to Triadelphos, son of Hareotes, and acknowledge having received from him twenty silver drachmas in payment. Although the transaction itself is banal and offers little to commend it, the heading attracts immediate interest. This fragmentary document proclaims itself as the copy of a Greek transla-

tion of an originally Egyptian (= Demotic) contract of agreement probably for judicial purposes (cf. U. Wilcken, UPZ I, p. 602, II, p. 129; Meyer, Papyri, pp. 78,82; F. Griffith, P. dem. Ryl. III, pp. 118ff.). Even without this heading, the blatant Egyptisms in the Greek wording would have betrayed it as such – cf. lines 3 and 4 nn.

ἀντίγραφον ὁμολογίας Αἰγυπτίοις γράμμασι μεθηρμηνευμένη(ς)
Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν·
ἔτους κβ Ἐπεὶφ γ̄ Καίσαρος Θεοῦ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν γραφομέν(ων)
ἐ[ν Ἀ]λεξανδρείᾳ· λέγει Ἕλληνος· Φαμεῖς Φασιῆυς καὶ
5 [Σε]μ̣θ̣ε̣ὺ̣ς̣ Πτολεμαίου κα[ὶ].[.....].ος Στράτωνος καὶ Δημήτριος
[κ]αὶ Κολλοῦθος Ἡρακλ[εί]δου καὶ Δημήτριος
[ καὶ ]τίων [....]σ̣ήμιος καὶ Διονύσιος Θεοδώρου
καὶ traces [καὶ ]ισιώ̣του οἱ δέκα τῶν ἀπὸ
Χέννεως θηρατ[ ].......οι θηρατῶν πάντες ε..
10 [....] Τριάδελφος Ἀρ[ε]ώτου ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεσχηκέν[αι]
π[αρά σο]υ̣ ἀργυρίου δραχ(μὰς) [ε]ἴκοσι τιμὴν ἡμίσους μέρους οἰκίας
καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλοῦμεν ἀπὸ Ἐπεὶφ γ̄ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος
] traces

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1 ἀντίγραφον: Cf. B. Kübler, "Ἶσον und ἀντίγραφον," Zeits. Savigny-Stiftung 53 (1932) 64–98; L. Lefort, "Τὸ ἶσον = exemplum, exemplar," Le Muséon 47 (1934) 57ff.; L. Wenger, Historisches Jb. 60 (1940) 374.81.
μεθηρμηνευμένη(ς): Cf. W. Peremans, "Les ἑρμηνεῖς" in: Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten, Mainz 1983, 11ff.; *id.*, "Le bilinguisme," Studia Hell. 27 (1983) 253–280.

2 κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν: Cf. P. Oxy. 2231.28 n.

3 ἔτους κβ Ἐπεὶφ γ̄ Καίσαρος: While Greek usage dictates ἔτους κβ Καίσαρος Επεὶφ γ̄, the word order here reveals that it was, in fact, translated word-for-word from the Egyptian. Cf. G. Hughes, Saite Demotic Land Leases (= SAOC 28), Chicago 1952, *passim*, *e.g.* "Year 15, Mesore, of Pharaoh Amasis," "Year 16, Epeiph, of Pharaoh Amasis;" K.-Th. Zauzich, Papyri von der Insel Elephantine, Berlin 1978, no. 13852.1: "*Regierungsjahr 35 Monat Pharmuthi des Pharaohs Darius.*" However, the word order in no. 15518.15 betrays Greek influence: "*Im Regierungsjahr 50 des Kaisar, im Monat Phamenoth, am 15. Tag.*"
Καίσαρος Θεοῦ ἐκ Θεοῦ: Cf. P. Oxy. 1453.11; U. Wilcken, APF 6 (1920) 423: "*eine der griechisch-ägyptischen Auffassung entsprechende (Formel);*" C. Saulnier, "Les titulatures pharaoniques des empéreurs romains," RHD 62 (1984) 1–14 (*non vidi*); C. Balconi, Aegyptus 56 (1976) 213–214: "*titolature di Augusto.*" For more or less contemporary Demotic documents cf. W. Spiegelberg, P. dem. Eleph. no. 13 (p. 26): Augustus = *Gjsrs p3 ntr*; F.L. Griffith, P. dem. Ryl. III 44.1–2: Tiberois Kaisaros Sebast (the god the son of the god);" *ibid.*, 45.1–2: Tiberos Klautos (Kaisaros) Sebastos Germanikos, who hath obtained power, the god the son of the god." Cf. J.-Cl. Grenier, Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne (= Papyrologica Bruxellensia 22), Brussels 1989.

3–4 καὶ τῶν γραφομέν(ων) ἐ[ν Ἀ]λεξανδρείᾳ: It was a common practice in the last century B.C. to abbreviate the Ptolemaic royal titulatures in this manner. The scribes evidently continued the practice on into the Roman administration. For related discussion cf. P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 5.3 n.,18.2 n., 20.8 n.



4 *l.* λέγουσι Ἕλληνες: Thus begin Demotic contracts, *e.g.* Hughes, *op. cit.*, no. 2.2: "Has said the prophet of Amon, Chonserau ...;" no. 4.1: "Has said the herdsman of Mont, Petemont ..." *et passim*; Pestman, Recueil, no. 3.2: "*A déclaré le prêtre des enfants d'Apis ...*"; no. 4.13: "*A déclaré la femme T. ...*" *et passim*. Other translations from Demotic texts such as UPZ II 175a.3 have τάδε λέγει.
Φασιῆυς: *addendum onomasticis*.

6 Κολλοῦθος: Cf. Vergote 20; W. Crum, "Collouthus the Martyr and His Name," Byzantinische Zeits. 30 (1922–30) 323–327.

9 Χέννεως: Cf. **2433**.48, **2438**.101; P. Hibeh 218.101.
θηρατῶν: Cf. **2253**, **2254**, SPP XXII 68 for documents related to the hunt; P. Roussel, "Les κυνηγοί à l'époque hellénistique et romaine," REG 43 (1930) 361–371.

10 *l.* Τριαδέλφῳ: Cf. H. Heinen, ZPE 80 (1990) 272; J. Quaegebeur, "Greco-Egyptian Double Names" in: Life 265–272, on this name and its Egyptian equivalents.

11 Cf. W. Schubart, Einführung in die Papyruskunde, Berlin 1918, 447; Olsson 73.49–50 n.; D. Hobson, YCS 28 (1985) 211–229, on the division of house shares into minuscule portions.

12 *l.* καὶ οὐδέν σοι ἐγκαλοῦμεν κτλ.: Cf. Pestman, *op. cit.*, nos. 3.5, 8.6, 9.6: "*Je n'ai aucune contestation au monde (à formuler) contre toi ... à partir d'aujourd'hui et dorénavant.*" Here instead of writing ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον the translator-scribe inserted the date.

Translation

Copy of an agreement in Egyptian translated into Greek as well as possible. Year 22, Epeiph 3 of Caesar, God, Son of God – and the things written in Alexandria. (The) Greeks say: Phameis, son of Phasieus; Semtheus, son of Ptolemaios; -os, son of Straton; Demetrios and Kolluthos, sons of Herakleides; Demetrios, son of N.N.; -tion, son of -semis; Dionysios, son of Theodoros; N.N., son of N.N.; N.N., son of -isiotes, the ten from the (inhabitants) of Chennis, hunters (?) ... acknowledge to Triadelphos, son of Hareotes, that we have received (from you) twenty silver drachmas, the price of half a house, and we will present no further claims against you from Epeiph 3 of the 22nd year of Caesar ....

## 2595 Official Correspondence

P. 25289 — Herakleopolis
14 x 15 cm. — 15/14

Margins: upper 3.7, left 0.8, lower 1.7 cm. The same script as on **2670**. Verso blank. Dorion, the royal secretary, writes to the district scribes, appending copies of letters from the prefect and *strategos*. Unfortunately, only the copy of the *strategos*'s letter is preserved here. The subject under discussion is the inspection of the finance records "from times past up to Augustus's third year" (line 4). It would be nice to know exactly what length of time was involved here – and how many of Augustus's Ptolemaic predecessors' records were up for inspection. Certainly, more than just the records of the first two years of Augustus' reign would have

been reviewed. Other *imponderabilia*: what was the occasion for this inspection in the 16th year of Augustus's rule? Were Dorion and other officials addressed in this letter already in office in Augustus's third year – perhaps already in office even at the time of the Roman conquest? If so, were they now, thirteen years later, being summoned to account for themselves because of some irregularities in the books?

[Δωρίων βα(σιλικὸς) γρ(αμματεὺς) τοῖς] τοῦ νομοῦ τοπογραμματεωσι
χαίρειν. τοῦ μεταδιδομ[ένου μοι ±10]
[.]...[ ± 6] τῶν προσ[ό]δων χρηματισμοῦ ᾧ̣ ὑποτέτακται καὶ ἡ γραφεῖσα
ὑπ[ὸ .... Βαρ-]
βάρου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπισ̣τ̣[ο]λὴ ἀντ̣ίγραφα ὑποτέτακται καὶ αὐτοῖς
θ.[±11]
[....].του εἴδους ἀπ̣ητημεν ἔτι ἄνωθεν ἕω[ς] τοῦ τρίτου ἔτους Καίσαρος
στοχα[σάμενοι]
5 [τοῦ μ]ηδὲν ἀγνοηθῆναι
(ἔτους) ις Καίσαρος ....[ ]

[ ± 6] Δωρίωνι χαίρειν. τῆς πεμφθίσης ἡμεῖν ὑπὸ Βαρβάρου ἐπιστ[ο]λ̣[ῆς
ἀντίγραφον]
ὑποτέτακ[ται] ὃ [.].. κατὰ συνήθεαν ἄλλοτε ἀπ̣ητημένον ἐκ τοῦ ἴδους ε
[ ± 9]
ν̣εικε ὅπως κατὰ τούτωι ἡ ἀπαίτησις γένηται (ἔτους) ις Καί[σαρος ]

1 *l.* τοπογραμματεῦσι 2–3 *l.* χρηματισμοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑποτέτακται ᾧ̣
καὶ τῆς γραφείσης ὑπὸ .... Βαρβάρου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιστ[ο]λῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον
ὑποτέτακται 4 *l.* ἀπ̣ητήμεθα ? 7 *l.* πεμφθείσης ἡμῖν 8 *l.* συνήθειαν, εἴδους.

1–2 In the lacuna one expects μεταδιδομ[ένου μοι ὑπὸ N.N. στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων. Cf. **2586**.2–3 n.

2–3 [Βαρ]βάρου: The few extant sources on the life and career of P. Rubrius Barbarus are in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* and ZPE 17 (1975) 268. So far the only attested dates for his prefecture were all for the year 13/12. This text from 15/14 is an exception. Cf. **2558** and Geraci, Genesi 174ff. on early Roman prefects in general.

4–5 For similar wording cf. P. Amh. 68.4; P. Oxy. 1188.5,11. The participle refers to the district secretaries who are obliged to reveal everything and to conceal nothing.

7 [Λύπος?]: Cf. **2602**.6 and **2669** II 1 where a certain Lupus, *strategos* of the Herakleopolites in Augustus's 17th year appears. His short name would nicely fit and fill in the lacuna here and in l. 1.
Δωρίωνι: Cf. **2596** introd.; **2626**.32, 42.

8 κατὰ συνήθεαν: Cf. H. D. Schmitz, Τὸ ἔθος und verwandte Begriffe in den Papyri, Diss. Cologne 1970, 73ff.
*l.* εἴδους: In P. Köln IV 195 Einl., 195.20, 228.16, this word seems to designate market vendors. N. Lewis, BASP 18 (1981) 126–127, however, notes the broad scope of meaning this word had in Koine Greek, equivalent to the English "item." That is most likely its meaning here.



8–9 ἔ[τι δὲ καὶ νῦν προσέ]ν̣εγκε *aut sim.*? Although the *iota* is unmistakable, this document is after all a copy and, considering its other orthographical and syntactical errors, a rather poor one at that. Hence, a *gamma* in the original might easily have been misread as *iota*.

Translation

(Dorion, royal secretary, to the) district scribes of the nome, greetings. A copy of the order communicated (to me by N.N., *strategos* and chief) financial officer, to which is appended a copy of the letter written by ... Barbarus, prefect, .... Requested (from us ?) is a financial report from times past up to Augustus's third year so that nothing be concealed. Year 16 of Caesar.
(N.N.) to Dorion, greetings. A copy of the letter sent to me by Barbarus is appended below. (Submit now?) that which according to custom has been requistioned on other occasions from the items so that the tax collection may proceed accordingly. Year 16 of Caesar.

## 2596 Seed Report

P. 25387 Herakleopolis
20 x 14.6 cm. 13/12

Margins: upper 4.5, lower 8. Verso blank. This scrap of papyrus seems to have been used for various, miscellaneous, disparate jottings. The script is probably the same as that on **2649**, **2659**, and **2662.**
The sole interest of this scrap is its mention of the same Dorion, royal scribe of the Herakleopolite nome, mentioned in **2595**.7, **2626**.32, 42.

[....][ traces ]
παρὰ Δωρίωνος βασιλικ̣[οῦ γραμ]μα(τέως)
τοῦ Ἡρακλευπου
σπόρος [τῶν] ἐπικεφαλαίων ὁ ἀναγεγρα[μμένος]
5 ὑπὸ τῶ[ν τοπ]ο̣γραμματέων καὶ κομογρ[αμματέων]
ἐν τῶι ιη (ἔτει) Κέσαρος Πετοβά[στις
[ ]

written in reverse order: ]..π̣ου γραμματέως
].ων

3 *l.* Ἡρακλεοπολίτου 5 *l.* κωμογρ. 6 *l.* Καίσαρος

Translation

From Dorion, royal secretary of the Herakleupou. A summary seed report drawn up by district and village scribes in the 18th year of Caesar. Petoba(stis ?) ....

## 2597 Report ?

P. 25275 — Toy and Tochontoy
9 x 12.7 cm.

Margins: upper 2.3 cm., left 3.4 cm., right: variable. Verso blank. This scrappy bit of papyrus preserves the name of Horos, an otherwise unknown village scribe, whose administrative districts included two villages in the Herakleopolite nome: Toy and Tochontoy. For one scribe in charge of more than one village see **2282**; Oertel, Liturgie 157 a.

παρ' Ὥρου κωμογραμματέως Τωὺ ·
καὶ Τοχοντωύ.
ἀπῄτηται ἐκ τῆς κώμης
θ[
---------------------------

2–3 Τωύ: Cf. **1846**.3; **2437**.20, etc.
Τοχοντωύ: Cf. **2437**.4,22; **2440**.45.

Translation

From Horos, village scribe of Toy and Tochontoy. Requisitioned from the village …

## 2598 Receipts

P. 21906 — Kolasuchis
26 x 12.7 cm. — 9–7

Margins: left 1.2–3.5, lower 4 cm. Verso blank.

Preserved are portions of two receipts: 1) Herakleios, son of Apollonios, certifies that he has received from Aspheus, son of Horos (cf. l. 9), rent payments for two years on a field, half of which Aspheus has cultivated. Herakleios has paid the taxes due. Claims on a loan which he gave to Aspheus and which is up for repayment in the following year are still valid. Further agreements regarding canal and dike work are lost for the most part. Peculiar is the lack of stipulations regarding the type of rental involved here. There is no mention of the sum, nor whether it involves money or goods. 2) Soterichos, son of Herakleios, (probably the landlord of the first document), certifies repayment of the aforementioned loan. In l. 21 one learns that it is a mere prepayment of the rental fees. Soterichos maintains his claims on the rental payments on the other half of the field which a certain Adrastos cultivates.



ἀντίγραφον ἀποχῆς.
Ἡράκλειος Ἀπολλ[ω]νίου τῶν κατοί[κων Ἀσφεῖ Ὥρου]
χαίρειν. ἔχω παρά σου τὰ ἐκφόρια [τοῦ ἐπιβάλλον-]
τός σοι μέρους ἡμίσους ὧν γεγεώ[ργηκάς μου (ἀρουρῶν) . ]
5 περὶ κώμην Κολασοῦχιν ἐν τῶι ἑν[ὶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ]
καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει, κα[ὶ τὰ καθήκοντα]
ὑπολέλειμ⟨μ⟩αι εἰς τὸ τούτων δημόσ[ιον ± 6 καὶ]
οὐδέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ περὶ τῶν ἐκφορίω[ν τοῦ ἐπιβάλλον-]
τός σοι μέρου⟨ς, μένουσης δέ μοι πρός σ[ε ἐκτεῖ-]
10 σαί μοι δάνος εἰς τὸ τρίτον καὶ εἰκο[στὸν ἔτος ....]
καὶ τὰ σκάμματα τῶν χώματων τοῦ κλ[ήρου κατὰ τὸ]
ἥμισον ἀ̣κολ{λ}ούθως ἧ̣ ἔχω σου α̣ν̣[ ±12]
τῶν χωμάτων. τὰ δὲ χώματα ε̣[ἰς τὸ τρίτον]
καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἄξεις ἀπὸ Μεχεὶ[ρ τοῦ δευτέρου]
15 καὶ εἰκοστοῦ{ς} ἔτους, μένοντος δέ μοι τοῦ π[ρός σε λόγου]
περὶ τοῦ δανήου καὶ τῶν ἐκφορίων.
(ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρ[ος ]
ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Σωτη(ρίχου). [ ]
Σωτήριχος Ἡρακλείου Ἀσφεῖ Ὥρ[ου χαίρειν.]
20 ἀπέχω παρά σου τὸ ἐπιβάλ⟨λ⟩ον σοὶ μ̣[έρος ἥμισυ?]
τοῦ δανήου τῶν ἐκφορίων τοῦ [αὐτοῦ ἔτους]
καὶ οὐθέν σοι ἐνκαλῶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σου μ̣[έρους, μένον-]
τος δέ μοι τοῦ πρὸς Ἄδρα̣[σ]τ̣ον τοῦ [.. λόγου περὶ]
τῶν ἐκφορίων ⟦ ⟧ [ ]
25 ⟦ ⟧ [ ]
(ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρο[ς

1 The *gamma* has been corrected from *alpha*.
5 Κολασοῦχιν: Cf. **1808**.22, **2429**.27; SPP X 213.4.
ἑν[ὶ καὶ εἰκοστῷ]: Mayser I,2, p. 78: "*Die Bildung der zusammengesetzten Ordinalia von 21–99 werden in der Regel so gebildet, dass der Einer (bei 1 stets Grundzahl, bei 2–9 Ordnungszahl) dem Zehner mit verbindendem* καί *vorausgeht.*"
6 *l.* δευτέρῳ.
7 ὑπολέλειμ⟨μ⟩αι: Hermann, Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri (= MB 41), Munich 1958, 122: "*Die Urkunden zeigen, dass in aller Regel die öffentlichen Lasten des Grundstücks, insbesondere die Grundsteuer, vom Verpächter bestritten werden sollten.*" Such is the case here.
8, 22 *l.* ἐγκαλῶ.
10 δάνος: The word is also attested in P. Cair. Masp. 126.11,44; P. Corn. 6.32; P. Dur. 23.3.
11 σκάμματα: "Lesser ditches taking off from (the main canal)," Westermann and Keyes, P. Col. Zen. 78, introd.
12 *l.* ἥμισυ: Cf. P. Cair. Zen. 59499.64,65,96. τὸ ἥμισον is "*wohl Analogiebildung zu* τρίτον, τέταρτον *usw.*" According to Mayser I,1, p. 81; I,2, p. 78: "*sonderbar*".
Aspheus is obliged to perform half of the work on the canals; Adrastos (l. 23), for sure, the other half.

14 ἄξεις: Cf. **2590** I 6–8: ἄξειν καὶ στεγνώσειν καὶ παρυλιεῖν τὰ ... δημόσια χώματα.
ἀπὸ Μεχεὶ[ρ: January 26 – February 24. Both the bulk of the penthemeros and naubion receipts and the evidence from private documents indicate intensive work on the canals during the Nile's inundation between June and August (cf. Schnebel; Sijpesteijn, Penthemeros 10–11). Only a few references to canal work in Mecheir are known. The water level of the Nile was then at its lowest point, hence maintenance work on the dikes and canals was not of such emanent priority. However, cleaning and repairing was considerably easier (Sijpesteijn, *op. cit.* 11). It is probably for this reason that Herakleios stipulates that the work be executed during this period.
16, 21 *l.* δανείου.
20 Cf. P. Cair. Isid. 114.4–5: ἔσχον παρὰ σοῦ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος ὧν ἐγεώργησας κτλ., where τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μοι μέρος similarly serves as circumlocution for the rental fee.
23 There is no place for Adrastos's father's name in the lacuna. Hence the article must serve to introduce some other substantive.

### Translation

Copy of the receipt. Herakleios, son of Apollonios, one of the *catoecs*, (to Aspheus, son of Horos), greetings. I have received from you the rent for the half portion of my land, (... aruras) near the village of Kolasuchis, which you have cultivated in the (twenty)-first and twenty-second years. I have deducted the (customary taxes) on them for the state treasury ... and I shall present no claims against you regarding the rental payments on your tract of land. (My claims) against you regarding the repayment of the loan to me in the twenty-third (year) remain valid ... the smaller canals of the tract's dikes ... You will trace the dams for the twenty-third year beginning in Mecheir of the twenty-(second) year. My claims against you regarding the loan and the rental payments remain valid. Year 22 of Caesar ...
Soterichos's copy. Soterichos, son of Herakleios, to Aspheus, son of Horos, (greetings). I have received from you your (half) of the loan, the rental payments, for the (same year), and I have no further claims against you regarding your (share). I still have claims against Adrastos's account regarding the rental payments. Year 23 of Caesar ....

## 2599 Petition

P. 25180 — Herakleopolites
30 x 12 cm. — after 27

Margins: upper 3, left 2, lower 4 cm. A strip of papyrus with vertical fibers has been pasted onto the right. Verso blank.
Because of irregularities in the survey and the ensuing evaluation of their property, three farmers from Kephalai address their appeal for justice to Theon, the royal secretary. They claim to possess seven aruras apiece which have been only partially inundated. Furthermore, they suspect and accuse a certain Zenon of inaccurately surveying their land, hence placing them in a higher tax bracket than that in which they rightfully belong.



Θ̣έωνι βασιλικῶι γραμματεῖ
παρὰ Πανετβ̣έ̣ω̣ς̣ [τοῦ] Ὥ̣ρου καὶ π̣αρ[ὰ]
Ἁ̣ρ̣ονδώτου τοῦ Ἁρονδώτου καὶ π̣αρ[ὰ]
Ψενοβάστιος τοῦ καὶ Βενιπ̣ις τῶν {α̣}
5 τριῶν ἀπὸ Κεφαλῶν· ὑπαρχ̣όντω̣ν
ἡμῖν περὶ Ταφθῖριν ἑπταρουρικῶν
κλήρων τριῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν τ̣ε̣λ̣ο̣ῦ̣μ̣ε̣ν̣
τὰ καθήκοντα δημόσια κ̣α̣ὶ τὰ σ̣υντελέ-
σματα πάντα ἀνεγκλήτως, ἐν δ̣ὲ τῶι
10 τ̣ε̣[τ]α̣ρ̣τωι (ἔτει) βεβρεγμένου ἐξ ἑκά̣σ̣τ̣ο̣υ
[κ]λήρου ἡμίσους τετάρτου ὥστ' ε[ἶναι]
ἀναγεγραμ̣μ̣έναι αγd
[ἄρου(αι)] βd· Ζήνων ὁ τῶν τ̣ό̣π̣ω̣ν̣ τοπ[ο-]
[....] σ̣υνδυασάμενος Α[..]ω̣τ̣ε̣ι̣ τῶι
[....].ογραμματεῖ καὶ ἐπιβαλόντες
15 [ἐπὶ τὰ]ς οἰκίας ἡμῶν ἐξεμετρήσαντο
[....]οται ὑπὲρ τῶν σημαινομ\έ/(νων) ἀρουρῶν βd
[....]..( ) ιβL [.. ἐ]ν̣ ἀμελίαι καὶ [..]λ̣λαε̣ω̣ν̣
[....]... ἐν ἀ̣ναρχίαι· διὸ προήγμεθα
[τὴν ἐπί σ]ε π̣ο̣ι̣ήσασθαι καταφυγήν· α̣ξ̣ι̣ο̣ῦ̣με[ν]
20 [ἐὰν] φαίνηταί μοι .... ὡ̣ς̣ κ̣ο̣μ̣ι̣ομεθα
πλείω ἀπῃτήμεθα τῶν καθηκ̣ό̣ν̣-
τ̣[ων] δημοσίων ἵν' ὦμεν τετευχ̣ό̣τ̣ε̣ς̣
τῆς σῆς ἀντιλήμψεως·
εὐτύχει

1 Θέωνι: Theon is an otherwise unknown royal secretary of the Herakleopolites.
2 Πανετβ̣έ̣ω̣ς: J. Quaegebeur, Enchoria 4 (1974) 24.25, and OLP 4 (1973) 96.121, discusses this name, cf. **2674**.120 n.
4 Βενιπις: Cf. P. Tebt. 401.41; P. Mich. 123 R. XV 8: Βενιπῆς
5 Κεφαλῶν: Cf. **2570**.5 n.
6 Ταφθῖριν: Unattested.
ἑπταρουρικῶν: This category is probably a remnant of the Ptolemaic land administration when seven-arura-tracts of land were distributed to native soldiers (μάχιμοι); cf. P. Tebt. I, pp. 551 ff.; IV, p. 11; J. Shelton in: Collectanea Papyrologica I, p. 114.
8 δημόσια: This is the sole criterion for dating this text after the Roman conquest of Egypt. Taxes are now no longer called βασιλικά but rather δημόσια; cf. J. Modrzejewski, Congr. 12, 325.43; Thunell, P. Berl. Leihg. I, p. 65.
11–12 3 x 3/4 = 2 1/4 aruras.
17 The few remaining flecks of ink are not helpful in determining whether aruras or artabs are intended.
18 προήγμεθα: Cf. **2420**.4; Döllstadt 30.
18–19 For similar wording cf. **1823**.26, **1836**.20, **1858**.13–14; **2600**.16 n. For the blind adher-

ence to conservative style in such petitions see F. Zucker, Gerichtsorganisation 100–101; H. Wolff, Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer (= MB 44), Munich 1962, 131–132.

20 *l.* φαίνηταί σοι, κομιούμεθα.

Translation

To Theon, royal scribe, from Panetbeus, son of Horos; Harondotes, son of Harondotes; and from Psenobastis, alias Benipis, the three from Kephalai. Near the village of Taphthiris are three plots of land of seven aruras each belonging to us on which we have faultlessly paid the customary taxes and dues. In the fourth year only three-quarters of each plot was inundated, resulting in a total of $2^1/_4$ aruras. Registered $1^1/_3{}^1/_4$ ... Zenon, the *topo-* of the district, in collusion with A-, the ... scribe, made an incursion on our houses and surveyed ... with regard to the aforementioned $2^1/_4$ aruras ... in desuetude and ... in disorder. We therefore see ourselves compelled to come to you for refuge. We beseech (you), (if) it seem fitting to you ... since we are assessed more than the customary taxes, in order that we may enjoy your succour. Farewell.

## The Archive of Athenodoros

For convenience I have designated the following group of documents with this title because most of the documents center around the person with this name. Even in the few instances where his name does not appear, the documents in question are written either by the same scribes who wrote letters to or from Athenodoros, or they concern people associated with him in other documents that bear his name.

Athenodoros apparently was sometimes addressed with the more familiar Athas (**2621**, **2647, 2654**.13, cf. Vergote 3 and J. Winnicki in: Life 352.6 on this name). Cf. R. Merkelbach, ZPE 55 (1984) 54: "Δωσᾶς ... *ist eine Kurzform zu* Δωσίθεος"; Olsson, nos. 12–14, introd. p. 56 (Akus = Akusilaos); E. Husselman, P. Mich. V, p. 15; G. Horsley, NDIEC 4, nos. 5 and 101, comm.; S. Omar, P. Soterichos 3.3 n.; H.C. Youtie, ZPE 21 (1976) 193ff.; A. Henrichs, L. Koenen, ZPE 32 (1978) 125–126; *id.*, APF 33 (1987) 58; A. Debrunner, Griechische Wortbildungslehre, Heidelberg 1917, § 23; E. Locker, "Die Bildung der griechischen Kurz- und Kosenamen", Glotta 22 (1934) 89ff.; L. Koenen and S. Omar in: P. Turner 21, introd., p. 103.3; H. Heinen, ZPE 79 (1989) 244; W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemos (= SPP 6), Munich 1906, repr. Amsterdam 1965, 16; P. van Minnen, ZPE 93 (1992) 203.20; P. Oxy. 3094.1 n. (Eutychidas = Eutyches); "Names, Hypocoristic", in: David N. Freedman, ed., The Anchor Bible Dictionary IV, New York 1992, 1017ff.

Some of the more significant documents which reveal Athenodoros's character and career are the following:

**2602**: Athenodoros here functions simultaneously as *epistates* and *dioecete*.

**2615–2618**: These documents are of prosopographical interest, telling us about Athenodoros's family. Some of the information is ambiguous and inconsistent, since common familial terms of address may not always be true indicators of biological relationships.



**2615**: Here we learn the names of Athenodoros's parents: Menelaos and Herakleia – provided that Menelaos and Herakleia are in fact addressing their biological son and not just employing the Greek word for son as a term of familiarity.

**2616**: A brother, Onnophris, as well as a niece (?), a sister, another brother, Tryphaina and dear Herakleides are mentioned in this letter.

**2617, 2618**: In these letters not Menelaos and Herakleia but rather a certain Tryphas addresses Athenodoros as son. However, this may be a mere term of endearment, with no deeper significance than the somewhat more common ἀδελφός or πατήρ. Tryphas, reports to her son the delivery of a load of wood and pots and greets her daughters, Tryphas and Artemis.

Athenodoros is attested as *dioecete* in: **2603**.1, **2608**.11 (*ca.* 7 B.C.), **2619**.12, **2622**.2, **2624**.2, **2631**.1,22 (March 2, 9), **2632**.1 **2633**. 10, **2639**.13 (10/9). See on the *dioecete* in early Roman Egypt: D. Hagedorn, YCS 28 (1985) 188; P. Col. VIII 211.

Athenodoros is attested as *epistates* in: **2601** (*ca.* 14/13 B.C.), **2606** (7 B.C.), **2637** (3/2). Other *epistatai* are Petesuchos and Soteles in **2657** (17/16 B.C.) and Heras in **2613** (15/14).

**2625**: This is one of the more interesting letters, remarkable for its virulent attack on Athenodoros. The correspondent, an otherwise unknown Achilleus, minces no words telling Athenodoros what he thinks of him and his usual lassitude and lackadaisical manner.

In **2644** of June 4 B.C., Athenodoros is addressed as ἐμπολαῖος, "merchant."

In **2662** and **2664** of July 11, 4 B.C., Athenodoros is called *phrontistes* of Asklepiades's property in the Herakleopolite nome. Cf. **2605**.2

Another one of the more frequently appearing and relatively important personages in this correspondence is a certain Seleukos. In **2600.**10-11 of August 4,13 he is designated as *dioecete*. In the other letters where he appears no title is attached to his name (**2612**, **2613**, **2614**, **2629**, **2634**.1).

Striking in the otherwise banal wording of these everyday letters written by small people concerning their petty concerns is the occasional neologism or solitary attempt at sesquipedalian phraseology. For example, **2613**.7: παροπλιεῖς, **2622**.15: διπλῆ [ἡ] χάρις γένηται, **2623**.9: ἐπισχῖσαι τ' ἀνδρῖ[α], **2624**.6: καταναβαλοῦμαι, **2625**.19: καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βίωι; the unusual and unexpected word **2631**.11: ἄτερ; **2644**: ἐμπολαῖος; **2657**.19: [εὐ]προσωπία; **2601**.23–24: θεοχωλοσία

Literature on personal letters in antiquity includes: C.W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction", AJP 56 (1935) 28–44; Chan-Hie Kim, Form and Structure of the Familiar Greek Letter of Recommendation (= Society of Bibl. Studies, Diss. Series 4), Missoula 1974; *id.* and J. White in: J. White, ed., Studies in Ancient Letter Writing (= Semeia 22), Chico 1982; K. Treu, "Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe auf Papyrus", Zetesis 1973, 629–636; G. Horsley, NDIEC 4, no. 16, *ibid.* p. 255; H. Cotton, Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin from the Roman Empire (Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 132), Cologne 1981; R. Buzon, Briefe der Ptolemäerzeit, Diss. Heidelberg 1984; S.K. Stowers, Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity, Philadelphia 1986; H. Zilliacus, Anredeformen, 32ff.; *id.*,

"Anredeformen", in: RAC. Suppl. 3, 465–497; J. White and K. Kensinger, "Categories of Greek Papyrus Letters", in: G. MacRae, ed., Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers, Missoula 1976, 79–91. On the difficulty of editing private letters Albert Dietrich, Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg 1955, pp. 2ff., has interesting and enlightening comments.
See on Augustan Egypt: N. Lewis, Congr. 12, 1–14; A. Piganiol, Congr 7, 192 ff.; G. Geraci, "La formazione della provincia romana d'Egitto", in: Egitto e società antica, Milan 1985, 163–180; *id.*, Genesi; F. Zucker, "Verfahrenswesen in der Einführung gewisser Einrichtrungen des Augustus in Ägypten", RIDA 3 sér. 8 (1967) 155–164; M. Amelotti, "L'Egitto augusteo tra novità e continuità", JJP 20 (1990) 19–24; A. Hanson, BASP 24 (1987) 100–102; T. Skeat, The Reign of Augustus in Egypt. Conversion Tables for the Egyptian and Julian Calendars (= MB 84), Munich 1993 (*v.* D. Hagedorn, ZPE 100 [1993] 211–222).

## 2600 Petition

P. 25236 — Herakleopolites
27 x 13 cm. — August 4,13

Margins: upper 5, left 1–2, lower 1.2 cm.
Ladamas and the other beekeepers in the village of Choinothmis turn to an unnamed *epistates* (possibly Athenodoros who functioned as *epistates* about this time–cf. **2602**) seeking redress for wrongs suffered seven years previously in regard to their tax payments. Evidently doubt had been expressed whether they had rendered all the honey that was due to the state back then. The beekeepers have already given their accounts of that period to the *epistates* for his audit. They now request that he submit them to the *dioecete* Seleukos so as to prevent their being assessed a second time. Should any questions or doubts as to their honesty or good intentions arise, Ladamas and the other beekeepers express their willingness to offer further proof of their claims.

Λαδάμας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μελισσουργοὶ
Χοινώ[θ]μεως τῶι [σ]ε̣μ̣ν̣οτάτωι
θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι ἀντιλήμπτορι
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
5 ὑγιαίνειν καθάπερ εὐχόμεθα·
πεπόμφαμέν σοι τὸ λογάριον
τῶν ζμήνων καὶ τοῦ μ̣ε̣μ̣ε̣-
τρημένου μέλιτος ἐν τῶι ια (ἔτει)·
ἐὰν οὖν σοι φαίνεται, σεμνότατε
10 ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιδεῖξαι Σελεύκωι
τῶι διοικητῆι καὶ κυριώι {ὅπως}
συνπροσγενόμενος αὐτῶι ἵνα μὴ
πλεῖον ἀπαιτήσωμεν τῶν ὄντων
διὰ τοῦ λογαρίου καὶ τοῦ μεμετρημένου
15 μέλιτος· τὰ σύμβολα ἔχομεν· τούτου
δὲ γεν[ο]μένου ἐσόμεθα ἀντιλημμένοι
ὑπό σου· [παρὰ] πάντα δὲ χαριῇ σεατοῦ
ἐπιμε[λούμ(ενος) ἵν' ὑ]γιαίνῃς ὅ ἐστιν ἡμεῖν
εὐκτότ[ατον·] ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρος Μεσορὴ ια̅

20 vso: τῶι θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι ἀντιλήμπτ̣(ορι)



1 Λαδάμας: The name is new in the papyrus documents from Egypt, although it appears in Pape. Cf. **2590** I 1, II 2.
μελισσουργοί: R. Sullivan, BASP 10 (1973) 8, and H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 129–132, discuss beekeepers in Egypt. Such wording as οἱ μελισσουργοὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ (P. Cair. Zen. 59467) and that here indicate some sort of organization on the part of the beekeepers. On beekeeping in general, see E. Crane, The Archaeology of Beekeeping, Cornell Univ. Press 1984; E. Neufeld, Orientalia 49 (1980) 30–57, esp. 52.71; H. Chouliara-Raios, L'abeille et le miel en Egypte d'après les papyrus, Ioannina 1989; I. Beavis, Insects and other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity, Oxford 1988; Schuster, RE 15, 364–384. On bee-keeping see B. McGing, P. Dublin, p. 60.
2 Χοινώ[θ]μεως: Attested in P. Hib. I 68.3, 112.16,86; SPP X 8, etc.
3 θεῶι καὶ κυρίωι: The same idiom in **1197**.1, **1201**.l; cf. **2601**.25; **2604**.1–2; **2631**.1; **2638**.1; OGIS 195. H.C. Youtie and J.G. Winter, P. Mich. VII 466.4 n., discuss the tendencies for apotheosis in private letters of this period; A. Hanson, ZPE 47 (1982) 234.4, the deification of officials. Cf. A.D. Nock, The Joy of Study. Papers ... F.C. Grant, New York 1951,142–143 = Essays on Religion and the Ancient World II, Zeph Stewart, ed., Oxford 1972, 732–733. Examples in classical literature include: Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* 108.33–34 (Scipio); Lucretius, *de natura* I 62f. (Epicurus); Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.6–7 (Augustus).
ἀντιλήμπτορι: Cf. **1138**.19, **1139**.17, **1182**, where the word is applied to various officials.
7 *l.* σμήνων: See Gignac, Phonology 122 and P. Oxy. 3410.10–11 n., on the spelling with *zeta*. Bee hives represented a considerable investment. Hence, they are included in a temple inventory (P. Cair. Zen. 59520) and in a list of pawned objects (P. Hib. II 197.7); cf. Sullivan, *op. cit.* 9–10. Evidently the taxes involved here were calculated according to the number of bee hives in the beekeepers' possession.
7–8 Sullivan, *op. cit.* 8–9, cites evidence for beekeepers paying taxes either in money or in kind in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The beekeepers here maintain they paid taxes in the eleventh year of Augustus's rule, and they are able to produce receipts to prove their claims.
9 *l.* φαίνηται.
10–11 Σελεύκωι τῶι διοικητῆι: Seleukos, who frequently appears in the correspondence of Athenodoros (**2612**, **2613**, **2614**, **2634**), is attested only here as *dioecete*.
12 *l.* συμπροσ-.
15 *l.* τὰ δὲ, τὰ γὰρ or οὗ τὰ σύμβολα ἔχομεν. For the most recent discussions of *symbola* in the papyri see J. Herrmann, Congr. 15, 222–230; P. Verdult, P. Erasm. II, pp. 99–106; **2391**.16–17 n.; and G. Casanova, Aegyptus 18 (1988) 17.

16 ἀντιλημμένοι: Similar are **1138**.22, **1105**.41, **1187**.35, **1193**.13, **1856**.19–20, **1863**.17. Olsson, no. 8.20 n., discusses this circumlocution of the future with the perfect participle + ἔσομαι.
17 [παρὰ] πάντα: See **2617**.7 n.
χαριῆ: Cf. **2417**.6–8, **2422**.8.
18 *l.* ἡμῖν.
19 εὐκτότ[ατον·]: Cf. **2622**.25, **2617**.8; P. Mich. VIII 466.3: [εὔχομ]αί σε ἐρρῶσθαι, ὅ μοι εὐκτόν ἐστιν.
20 Above the *mu* is another letter (*kappa* ?) written with darker ink and finer strokes, most likely a blot from another document.

Translation

Ladamas and the other beekeepers from Choinothmis to the most respectful god and lord, protector, many greetings and constant health, as we pray for (it). We sent you the record regarding the bee hives and the honey measured in the 11th year. If it so please you, most respectful *epistates*, show them to Seleukos, the *dioecete* and lord, assisting him, so that – on the basis of the record and the honey measured – we be assessed no more than at present. (For) we have the receipts. When that has happened, then we will have been rescued by you. At any rate, you would do us a favor, by taking care of yourself so that you remain healthy – which is our sincerest wish. Farewell. Year 17 of Caesar, Mesore 11. Verso: To the god and lord protector.

## 2601 Petition

| | |
|---|---|
| P. 16899: 12 x 12.5 cm. | Herakleopolites |
| P. 25261: 19.5 x 11 cm. | after 13/12 |

Margins: upper 4.5, lower 8, left 2.5 cm. The upper fragment (P. 25261 = lines 1–21) is poorly preserved: torn and missing fibers at the top of the document have taken with them much of the context necessary for understanding who the parties involved were and to whom this complaint was addressed. At the bottom the same fragment is shredded and stained. P. 16899 (= lines 22ff.), by way of contrast, is in excellent condition. Even the upper edge is neatly cut off. The remarkable differences between the two sections of the same document, indicating that they have undergone quite different vicissitudes in the last 2000 years, suggest that the petition was cut in two and the two pieces put into different sections of the same coffin during the manufacture of the mummy case in antiquity. How much is missing between the upper and lower fragment cannot be determined any more. The verso is devoid of writing.
Unfair business practices are the subject of the present complaint. Someone leased a parcel of grain-producing land in the firm belief that he was getting 15 aruras in the deal. Undertaking his own survey of the land, he discovered it measured only 9 aruras – but not before he had already paid taxes on 15 aruras! Understandably and righteously indignant, he requests immediate redress for the wrongs perpetrated.



[ ±12 ο]ἰ̣κ̣ο̣ν̣ό̣μωι Ἀσκλη{ι}πιάδου
[.... στραγηγοῦ καὶ] ἐ̣π̣ὶ τῶν προσόδων
[ ]..[το]ῦ Ἡρακλείου τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
[ ].. Ἡρακλεοπολείτῃ̣ι̣ ̣τ̣ῶι
5 [ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν χαίρειν].[..] ἐμισθωσάμη\ν/
[ ±18 ].ρ..λωτος
[ ±7 ] π̣ρ̣οσόδου περὶ κώμην Πεματε
[...] ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἐδαφῶν
γῆς σειτοφόρου ἀρούρας ιε̅· ἀναμετρή-
10 σας οὖν ταύτας εὗρον οὔσα̣ς ἐννέα
ἀρούρας ἀντὶ τῶν διὰ τῆς μισθώ-
σεως ὀνομασθεισῶν ἀρουρῶν δεκα-
πέντε ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἠναγκάσθην
τὰ τοῦ ιη (ἔτους) Καίσαρος ἐκφόρια μετρῆσαι
15 τῶι αὐ̣τῶι Κρατερίωνι χωρὶς ὧν ὁ
[......]ωρος ἤνεγκα το̣ῦ̣ ̣ἐ̣κ̣φ̣ο̣ρίου
πυρ[ο]ῦ ἀρτάβας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐν τῶι
ιθ (ἔτει) Καίσαρος αντεδω tṛaces τῆς
[ ] σανωσα traces Ηρωδω..
20 [ ] ἔλαβον ἀρούρας ἐ[ννέα
].....[

---

ἀξιῶ σ᾽ ἐὰν φαίνηται δ̣έ̣σ̣π̣ο̣τ̣α̣.....ε̣ρ̣.
ξαί μοι εἰς τὴν γεγονυῖάν μοι θεο-
χολωσίαν τῶν θ¯ ἀρουρῶν ὃ ἐὰν σὺ
25 θεὸς ὢν ἐπικρείνῃς ἵν᾽ ὦ βεβοηθη-
μένος.
(signature)

1 Ἀσκληπιάδου: Probably the same as in **1197**.1, **1200**.14.
2 [στραγηγοῦ καὶ] ἐ̣π̣ὶ τῶν προσόδων: Cf. **2586**.2–3 n.
7 Πεματε: This village is otherwise unknown.
15 Κρατερίωνι: Attested in neither Foraboschi, Onomasticon, nor NB, nor Pape. Cf. **2624**.1 and Fr. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, Halle 1917.
16 *l.* ἤνεγκε.
22 δ̣έ̣σ̣π̣ο̣τ̣ά̣ μ̣ο̣υ̣ ?
23–24 θ̣ε̣ο̣χ̣ω̣λ̣ο̣σ̣ίαν: Unusual in the context of this on the whole banal petition is the sudden appearance of this rather literary and otherwise seldom attested word. However, already W. Schubart and D. Schäfer in the introduction to BGU VIII, p. 5, remarked on the unusual number of neologisms that appear in the petitions of the late Ptolemaic era from the Herakleopolite nome edited by them in that volume.
25 θεὸς ὤν: See **2600**.3 Anm.
*l.* ἐπικρίνῃς.

Translation

(l. 8) ... from the grain-producing plots of land, 15 aruras, belonging to Asklepiades. Having measured them I found them to be nine aruras instead of the fifteen aruras indicated in the rental contract, for which I have been subject to pay rental fees to the same Kraterion in the 18th year of Caesar. Apart from these, -doros delivered fifteen artabs of wheat in the 19th year of Caesar ... (l. 22) I beseech you, if it please you, master (?), to ... to me the wrath of god upon me for the 9 aruras – which if you are a god, may decide, in order that I may be succoured.

## 2602 Petition

P. 25235 Herakleopolites
29 x 13 cm. *ca.* 14/13 B.C.

Margins: upper 4.5, left 2.5, lower 3.5 cm. The farmers in the village of Techtho write to Athenodoros, who here functions simultaneously as *epistates* and *dioecete*, to inform him that a certain Eros, a functionary of the *strategos*, has attempted to coerce them into canal work. Fortunately for them, one of Athenodoros's men was able to put a stop to it. Still the farmers are not satisfied with this measure and demand a written guaranty from Athenodoros that Eros will not bother them in the future.

The work on the canals which is the subject of heated dispute here is obviously not the same as the well-known penthemeros system which was introduced only much later (P. Sijpesteijn, Penthemeros 1–5). At the time this petition was written canal work was apparently performed by workers who were paid out of public funds requisitioned expressly for the maintenance of the water ways (cf. **2590** and BASP 16 [1979] 25ff.).

οἱ ἀπὸ Τεχθὼ γεωργοὶ
Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ
καὶ διο⟨ι⟩κητῇ πλεῖστα χαίρειν
καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν·
5 γείνωσκε Ἔρωτον τὸν παρὰ
Λ⟨ο⟩ύπου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγβάλ-
λειν ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα·
καὶ τὰ νῦν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
γεωργούς σου καὶ ἀνήνκασε
10 αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο ἐκεῖ ἐρ-
γάζεσθαι· Πτολλᾶς ὁ σὸς ἦλ-
θεν ἐκ Θμοναχὴ κ[αὶ] ἐκώλυ-
σεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀπά[γειν] ὑμᾶς
ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα ὡς .[......]
15 αὐτῷ ἀποστείλῃς· τὰ δ[ὲ νῦν ἀξι-]
οῦμέν σε, ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ ὁ ἀγρὸς ἡ[μῶν ...]
παρέσταται, ἀποστεῖ[λαι ἢ]
σφραγειταν Πτολλᾶτι τῷ[ι σῶι]
ἢ \γ/ραπτὸν ἵνα κωλύσῃ τὸν Ἔρωτα
20 ἀπάγ⟨ε⟩ιν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ χώματα.
ἔρρω(σο)

vso: δι]ο̣[ι]κητ\ῇ/

5 *l.* γίγνωσκε Ἔρωτα.
6 Λ⟨ο⟩ύπου: The *strategos* Lupus is otherwise known only from **2669** col. II 1 (14–13 B.C.).
9 *l.* ἠνάγκασε.
11 Πτολλᾶς: Cf. **2659**.11. Cf. O. Masson, ZPE 98 (1993) 157f., on the etymology and popular variants.
12 Θμοναχή: Attested in P. Hib. II 218.51,66,84; P. Petaus 28.6,20, etc.
13 *l.* ἡμᾶς.
16–17 What difference does it make whether the field is near or far? Is Eros going from field to field to conscript workers?
18 *l.* σφραγῖδα?: On accusatives in -αν cf. Gignac, Morphology 45; Mayser I,1, pp. 171–172; Blass-Debrunner § 46.1; Olsson 28.16 n.
19 \γ/ραπτόν: Cf. Olsson 19.5: διὰ γραπτοῦ.
τὸν Ἔρωτα: Cf. **2649**.7 n.

Translation

The farmers from Techtho to Athenodoros, *epistates* and *dioecete*, many greetings and continual health. You should know that Eros, the subordinate of Lupus, the *strategos*, has sent men to the dikes. Even now he is going to your farmers and forcing them to work two days there. Ptollas, your (subordinate), came from Thmoinache and prevented him from sending us to the dikes .... Now we beseech you, since our field lies nearby, to send either a guaranty or a written message to your Ptollas, so that he can prevent Eros from sending us to the dikes. Farewell. Vso: To the *dioecete*.

## 2603 Petition

P. 25283 Herakleopolites
28 x 9 cm.

Possibly broken off at the top and bottom, definitely at the left. Right margin negligible. Verso blank.

Lyktos, evidently a farmer in Athenodoros's employ, writes to his master in his capacity as *dioecete* to inform him that although most of the other farmers have

long since fled the village he has decided to remain. The rest of the fragmentary letter concerns financial matters. The conclusion of the letter was written in the evidently once capacious upper margin.

18 ]..α[
].νεμε[
20 ]πρός σε οιδ[
].ειοσσ.[
π]επο⟨ί⟩ηκαν α[
[.......] περὶ τοῦ ...νυν ..[
[.... τ]ῶν ἐδαφῶν αλλα.αλεισ[
25 [.....] οἴδας δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον [....].ασ̣
[.....]εχευαι μετὰ βίας καὶ ἐπίθεμα (ἀρτ.) ρ
[.....]αειωι οὖν προνοήσει μου ὄντι
[ἐκ]τὸς τῆς [οἰκ]ίας ἔτι ἀπάνωθεν
[..]. τὸν ⟨ἔ⟩φοδον ἐπεγνώσ⟨ε⟩ιαν ὅτι ἃ πο⟨ι⟩εῖ
30 [symbol] κακά.

1 [᾿Αθ]ηνοδώρωι διοικητῆι
[π]αρὰ Λύκτου τοῦ ᾿Απυήιος τῶν
[σ]ῶν γεωργῶν· ἔγω παρέμεινα
[ἐ]ν̣ τῇ̣ κώμῃ̣ μὴ βουλόμενος φυγεῖν
5 [...]..ω̣ν̣ δ̣η̣μ̣ο̣σίων γεωργῶν ὅπως
[μ]ὴ̣ κ̣[α]ὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀ̣νάστατοι γένων(ται)
[..]. χωρὶς δὲ ὧν προσδιαγεγράφηκα ἀρ\γ/(υρίου)(δραχμὰς) π
[.]. Ἡρακλείῳ̣ καὶ σήμερον διαγεγρά-
[φηκ]α (δραχμὰς) ρ, λαβὼ[ν] ἀ⟨ρ⟩ραβῶνα κροτῶν⟨ος⟩ (δραχμὰς) ζ/
10 [..].....ως (ἀρτ.) μ ἄλλων δύο σὺν τ( )
[..]τι (ἀρτ.) αḶς, οσ. πωλεῖς γὰρ τοῦ δὲ
[μα]χ̣αι[ρο]φόρου ᾿Εξ̣ερδιτ̣ος ἀγοράσας
[ ]πε καὶ παρὰ
[τῶν ἐ]δαφῶν καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους
15 [..]νεγμου νε..... ἀλέκτορες δ
[........ τοῦ μα]χ̣αιροφόρου αἰτοῦν(τος)
[..]εμη.[ ]ος μου θλίβομαι

6 γενων 7 [symbol] 9 bis [symbol] 10,11,26 [symbol] 16 αιτουν

2 Λύκτου: Cf. Pape; P. Berol. 25416 vso (unpublished Alexandrian *synchoresis*); otherwise unattested in the papyri.
᾿Απυήιος: *addendum onomasticis*.
3 [σ]ῶν γεωργῶν: Cf. **2602**.9.



5 [μετ]ὰ̣ τ̣ῶ̣ν̣?
6 ἀ̣νάστατοι: Heretofore unattested in the documentary papyri.
7, 9 The drachma-symbols here are too indistinct to draw.
9 ἀ⟨ρ⟩ραβῶνα: Cf. J.C. Darwell, Enchoria 17 (1990) 83–87; A.J. Kerr, JTS 39 (1988) 92–97: "first installment".
κροτῶν⟨ος⟩: Cf. Sandy 35–54.
12 ᾿Εξ̣ερδιτ̣ος: If this is properly read and, in fact, a name, then it is new.
29 *l.* ἐπγνώσειαν.

Translation

To Athenodoros, *dioecete*, from Lyktos, son of Apyis, (one) of your farmers. I am staying in the village since I am unwilling to flee (with the?) state farmers, lest the others not become restless (and depart) ... apart from which I have paid in addition 80 silver drachmas ... to Herakleios, and today I paid 100 drachmas, taking 7 drachmas as guarantee money for the castor ...

## 2604 Letter

P. 25246 Herakleopolites
20.7 x 17.5 cm. Sept.– Oct. 7

Margins: upper ± 1, left 3–3.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3 cm. from the left; written on it is the number ξδ (64) opposite l. 14. Verso blank.
Stilbon (or Strabon?) writes to Athenodoros complaining of assault and battery at the hands of Chrysippos's slave and Skaliphos. Although the motives for the fracas are not at all clear, it seems Skaliphos was angry because he was waiting for a long overdue letter from Athenodoros and vented his rage on the innocent (?) Stilbon. Stilbon chides Athenodoros for not writing. He also requests a ship be sent to Skaliphos so that Stilbon and Athenodoros's sister can set sail. The rest of the letter concerns shipment of some goods.

20 ἔρροσσο (ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι σεβαστῇ

1 Στί̣λ̣βων ᾿Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι θεῶι καὶ
κυρίωι χαίρειν καὶ διευτυχεῖν· ἤδη
ἐμοῦ ἐξεληλυθότος καὶ γινομένου̣ ἐ̣π̣[ὶ]
τ̣ῷ̣ι κατὰ τὸν Θαυβαρίου πύργον διέ-
5 ξαντες δοῦλος Χρυσίππου καὶ Σκαλίφου
εἰσήνεγκά⟨ν⟩ με εἰς πόλιν μετὰ πλη-
γῶν καὶ ὑβρέων· ἐάν σοι φαίνηται
τῶι Σκ[α]λίφωι γράψαι περὶ τοῦ πλοίου
καὶ ἐμοῦ ἵνα με σὺν τῶι πλοίωι ἀπολύσῃ·
10 μέμφεται γάρ σε ὁ Σκάλιφος λέγων ὅτι

οὐδὲ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐπιστολίου τέτευ-
χα παρά σου· διὸ ἀξιῶ σε γράψαι τῶι
Σκαλίφωι ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ ταχύτερον
διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀδελφήν σου βούλεσθαι ἐν
15 τῶι πλοῶι ἀναπλεῦσαι· περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔ-
χῃ ὅδε πάκτονος πᾶσι τοῖς κυβερνή-
ταις τῶν πλοίων εἶπα ἀνενέγκαι σοι
αὐτὸν καὶ οὗ πεπρήκασιν αὐτὸν ἀ̣[ν]ε-
νέγκαι· τοῦτο{ν} δ' ἔστω τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιστόλιον·

1 Στί̣λ̣βων or Στρ̣ά̣βων?
1–2 θε̣ῶ̣ι καὶ κ̣υ̣ρίωι: Cf. **2600**.3 n.
4 Θαυβαρίου: *Iota* was corrected from *alpha*. This relatively rare name is attested only in Alexandria and Theadelphia. (Cf. W. Swinnen, CdE 42 [1967] 162–165; E. Bernand, Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum III: La "méris" de Polémôn, Cairo 1981, p. 119, on the etymology.) The most famous person to bear this name was the sister of a Cypriote governor and eponymous priestess of Cleopatra III for the year 107-106 B.C. Cf. Fraser I, 223; J. Ijsewijn, De sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis, Brussels 1961, repr. Milan, p. 59, no. 181; W. Clarysse, G. van der Veken, The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt, Leiden 1983, p. 137.
πύργον: cf. **2395**.1 n. and LSJ *s.v.* "women's quarters".
5 Various emendations are possible: δοῦλος, -οι Χρυσίππου, -ος καὶ Σκαλίφου, -ος, resulting in various combinations of slave(s), either named or anonymous, and their accomplice(s).
6 πόλιν: Herakleopolis.
8 Σκ[α]λίφωι: Cf. Pape; NB: Σκάλαφος.
10 ὁ Σκάλιφος: Cf. **2649**.7 n.
16 *l.* πάκτων.
19 τοῦτο{ν} δ' ἔστω: This serves as guarantee that nothing could be added to Stilbon's letter. At the bottom there was so little room left, that Stilbon was forced to append the date in the upper margin.
20 *l.* ἔρρωσο.
σεβαστῇ: The earliest attestation heretofore known for a ἡμέρα Σεβαστή was P. Yale 60. This papyrus is a year older than that one. P. Sijpesteijn, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI, p. 92.12, cites bibliography. P. Col. VIII, p. 88, presents the most recent list of attestations.

### Translation

Stilbon (?) to Athenodoros, the god and lord, greetings and prosperity. Recently, as I was out and about, while I was near Thaubarion's tower the slave Chrysippos and Skaliphos attacked me and coerced me with beatings and blows into the city. If it please you, write to Skaliphos about the ship and about me, so that he release me with the ship. Skaliphos chides you and says, "I have received no letter from you". I therefore beseech you, write to Skaliphos so that he may release me sooner, because your sister wants to come up on the ship. Regarding that which the ship has (= the cargo, freight), I have told all the ships' captains that they should bring it to you – also from that which they have sold. This is this letter. Farewell. Year 24 of Caesar, on the holy day of Phaophi.



## 2605 Letter

P. 25398 — Herakleopolites
20 x 15 cm. — 7 – 5/4

Margins: upper 2, left 3, right 3.5–4.5, lower 5 cm. Written on the vertical fibers. The horizontal fibers are devoid of writing.
Athenodoros in his capacity as overseer of Asklepiades's affairs in the Herakleopolite nome writes to Gaius Tyrannius, prefect of Egypt. It is singularly difficult to elicit any information from the scrappy remnants of the letter's original contents.
Written in the same hand as **2614**, **2634**, **2636**, **2641**, **2642**, **2646**, **2652**, **2653**, **2666** and **2667**.

[Γ]αίωι Τ̣υρρανίω[ι]
παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου φροντιστοῦ
⟦τῶν⟧ [Ἀσ]κληπιάδ̣[ου τ]ῶν ἐν τῶι
Ἡρακλεοπολ[ί]τηι. ἐάν σοι
5 φαίνηται διατάξεις γραφῆναι
Ἀθηνίωνι Καίσαρος φορολόγωι προ-
έσθαι τὰ κατὰ συνήθειαν
διδόμενα Φιλ[ ..].ρω̣ παβ̣ι̣σ̣τον
[..]ης ἐγλογιστοῦ ἃς καὶ ᾱ ασσιν( )
10 [Ἡρα]κλείδου λόγον ὅπως . [......]
[....]οσυνις ἀγοραστεις[......]
διε[υ]τ̣ύ̣[χ]ει
[Δημ]ητρίου φροντιστοῦ traces
traces of 4 lines

1 [Γ]αίωι Τ̣υρρανίω[ι]: Prefect 7–5/4 B.C. Cf. G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 (1975) 268, 38 (1980) 76; CPR XV, Gr. Texte XI, no. 15.1.
2–3 φροντιστοῦ [Ἀσ]κληπιάδ̣[ου: Cf. **2662**.2 and **2664**.3–4.
6 Ἀθηνίωνι: Cf. **2662**.4.
Καίσαρος: Cf. P.R.C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris, Cambridge 1972; G. Horsley, NDIEC 3, no. 1; **2662**.4 n.; P. Sijpesteijn, K. Worp, P. Pheretnuis 75.1 n.
9 *l.* ἐκλογιστοῦ.

### Translation

To Gaius Tyrannius from Athenodoros, manager of Asklepiades's affairs in the Herakleopolites. If it so please you, order that it be written to the tax official, Athenion of Caesar's (household), to release the things which according to custom were given to Phil- …

# 2606 Letter

P. 25247 Herakleopolites
26.5 x 11.5 cm. July 23, 7

Margins: upper 3.8, left 1–2, right ± 1, lower 10.3 cm. Verso blank.
On July 23, Sotas writes to Athenodoros, in his capacity as *epistates*, about several matters on his mind. Although he was employed on a ship already in the month of Phamenoth (February 25–March 26), Sotas has calculated his wages only from Pharmuthi (March 27–April 25). So far he has only received wages for Pharmuthi and Pachon (April 26–May 25), although it is already the end of July. The wages from the last two months are still due him. He requests Athenodoros pay him the outstanding wages immediately, otherwise he will be unable to pay his employees. Sotas furthermore asks Athenodoros to return his ship to him. Most intriguing in this letter, mentioned only *en passant* without any further elaboration on the whys and wherefores, is Sotas's comment that he is being held prisoner in a temple.
This papyrus was reproduced and briefly described in the booklet: Museum. Ägyptisches Museum Berlin. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Braunschweig: Georg Westermann Verlag 1981, 1984, pp. 104,105.

Σώτας Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἐπιστάτῃ
χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν·
ἐπίστασαι ὅτι ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ εἰμ{ε}ὶ
ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ· ἀπὸ δὲ Φαρμοῦθι λο-
5 γίζομαι τὸ ὀψώνιον· ἀπέχω δὲ
Φαρμοῦθι καὶ τοῦ Παχών, \τὸ ὀψώνιον/ τοῦ δὲ
Παῦνι καὶ Ἐπείφ· καλῶς ποιήσεις
διὰ τὴν ἔχουσάν μ\ε/ [η] ἔνστασιν καὶ
διὰ τὸ νεμεσῆν, ὅτι ἐνκέκλεισμαι
10 εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, \διατάξεις τῆς διμήνου/· χορηγῶ ἀνθρωπω μισθοὺς
ἕως ᾱ τοῦ Μεσορή· ἀξιῶ σε παρακα\(λῶν)/ παρ\α/-
δοῦναι τὸ πλοῖ⟨ο⟩ν ὃ ἐὰν βούλῃ· κοιρι-
ος \γὰρ/ εἶ· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν'
ὑγαίνῃς· ἔρρωσο·
15 (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος [Ἐ]πεὶφ κ̄θ̄

1 Σώτας: Cf. **2607**.
4–7 The month names are sometimes preceded by an article; cf. **2610**.5.
6–7 *l.* \τὸ ὀψώνιον/ τοῦ δὲ Παῦνι καὶ Ἐπείφ ⟨οὐκ ἔχω⟩ ? Sotas pays the men their wages up to Mesore 1 - the day after tomorrow. He asks Athenodoros to give him the money for salaries for two months (l. 10).
9 *l.* νεμεσᾶν: A poetic word, rare in prose, not to mention the documentary papyri; cf. LSJ.



9–10 ἐνκέκλεισμαι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν: Cf. P. Mich. 489.12; P. Fuad 18.17: ἐγκλείω εἰς; P. Oxy. 2480.84: ἐγκλείω ἐν.
References to emprisonment in temples in Egypt are few and their interpretation difficult. K. Sethe, "Sarapis ...", Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. n. F. 14.5, Berlin 1913, 91f., discusses instances in pharaonic and Ptolemaic Egypt. He was able to cite only one instance from Roman Egypt (P. Oxy. 259 = Mitteis, Chrest. II 101 = M. Biscottini, Aegyptus 46 [1966] 186–189). Cf. D. Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt through the New Kingdom," in: J.M. Sasson, ed., The Treatment of Criminals in the Ancient Near East, Leiden 1977, 2-64; Wilcken, UPZ I, p. 15, made a strict distinction between detention in temples and prisons constructed within temple enclosures, the latter being civil jails having nothing to do with the temples themselves. On Egyptian prisons in the Byzantine period see J. Gascou, Travaux et Memoires 9 (1985) 24.
Why Sotas is being detained in – of all places – a temple is a matter he enigmatically passes over in silence. That he was a κάτοχος seems out of the question. (On the *katochoi* see Kessler 141–142; R. Scholl, "Ἱερόδουλος im gr.-römischen Ägypten", Historia 34 [1985] 466–492; W. Clarysse, Enchoria 14 [1986] 43–49; G. Kortekaas, ZPE 85 [1991] 78.20: bibliography.) His involvement with ships and shipping is quite incongruous with anything religious.
On temples as prisons and places of detainment see J. Whitehorne, ANRW II 18,5, 3067; U. Wilcken, UPZ I, pp. 61, 131, 359, 363, 653; A. Bowman, P. Oxy. 3249.12 n.; Otto I, 285.3; Woess, Asylwesen 126; J. Ray, The Archiv of Hor, London 1976, 162. On prisons in general: R. Taubenschlag, Op. min. II 713ff.; P. Harr. 65.8; E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 12.17 n.; D. Hagedorn, J. Shelton, ZPE 18 (1975) 225ff. Prison terms in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt vary from five months (P. Lond. VII 2045.2–3; P. Tebt. III 777.8–10), to ten months (Mitteis, Chrest. II 5), to one year (PSI IV 347.8–10), to three years (P. Coll. Youtie 12).
10 *l.* διατάξας or διατάξειν τὰ τῆς διμήνου ὀψώνια: Cf. PSI IV 421.2–3.
*l.* τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μισθούς: Sotas's men want their salary by Mesore 1 (July 25). Since the letter was written on Epeiph 29 (July 23), the matter is urgent.
12–13 *l.* κύριος.

## Translation

Sotas to Athenodoros, *epistates*, greetings and continual health. You should know that I have been on board the ship since Phamenoth. However, I am calculating my salary only since Pharmuthi. I have received (my salary) for Pharmuthi and Pachon, (not), however, for Payni and Epeiph. Please be so kind as to pay me (the outstanding sum) for the two months, because of the hindrances encumbering me and because of my anger at being shut up in the temple. For I am paying the hired men up to Mesore 1. I beseech you and beg you to return to me the ship – whichever one you decide, for you are the owner. Otherwise, take care of yourself and stay healthy. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar, Epeiph 29.

## 2607 Letter

P. 25165 — Herakleopolites
30 x 14 cm. — April 27, 15

Margins: upper 6.5, left 1.5, lower 1.5, right negligible. Sotas, evidently a kind of agent for Athenodoros, writes how he is involved in getting timber shipped. Given Sotas's particularly obscure choice of words (neologisms?) and idiosyncratic orthography, much remains to be elucidated in this letter.

Σώτας Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν
καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν ὡς βοῦλομαι· ἀποσ-
πασθ⟨ε⟩ὶς ἀπό σου ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ποι-
μένων καὶ μ⟨ε⟩ίνας ἐκ⟨ε⟩ῖ ἡμέρας ἓξ
5 σὺν τῇ τύχῃ σου πάντα τὰ ἐκ⟨ε⟩ῖ ἐνκέ-
κληκα· ἓν δὲ μόνον τεθάμνικα· ὁ δὲ
traces .αι μου οὐ τεθεώ[ρ]η-
κεν· ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς κακοπαθῶ [ ]
η...ν ἵνα μηδὲ ἐν τόπωι μνιθι
10 μα.[.]. ἐγὼ Ἀσκλᾶν ὅτι φιλεξυλοσ-
θεται ὁ δὲ πανητραλλισε.[..]ακι οὐ-
δὲ τὴν ἅμαξαν ἀπέσταλκεν λέγων
πρῶτον τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνοικίωι αιρῳ·
γίνωσκε οὖν τὴν ἐ⟨ν⟩ Φνέβι περσέαν
15 τὴν μεγάλην κ⟨ε.⟩ῖται ἐπὶ πλατύμματος·
ἔτασσα πλάτος πηχῶ(ν) ζ, καὶ μῆ(κος)
πηχῶ(ν) ιδ· καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ καμάρᾳ ἐν
αιρῳ κ⟨ε⟩ῖται· οὐδεὶς ἦρην· οὐ γὰρ
ἔχ⟨ε⟩ις ἐν τῷ νομῷ τοιαύ[τ]ην ἀξίαν·
20 δρα\χ/(μῶν) χ· ἐὰν μὴ τὴν [μ]εγίστην
καταντήσῃς καὶ ὄχλικε[.].ς ἐκ⟨ε⟩ι κα-
ταντήσωμεν· καὶ προσδέχονται
ἄλλοι· καὶ οἱ τέκτονες πεπληρώ-
κασι τοὺς μισθούς· διὸ γράφω σοι
25 ἵν' εἰδῇς μὴ στραγεύσῃ.
ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ιε Παχ\ὼ/(ν) β
vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι

1 Σώτας: Is this perhaps a sobriquet for Soterichos who also corresponds with Athenodoros? Cf. p. 80.
5–6 *l*. ἐγκέκληκα.



6 τεθάμνικα: *l*. τέτμηκα ?
10 Ἀσκλᾶν: Sobriquet for Asklepiades in **1205**.2 = Olsson 3.2–see the note there; Horsley, NDIEC 4, no. 101.
13, 18 *l*. αἴθρῳ? P.J. Sijpesteijn, P. Lugd.-Bat. XVI 18.8 n., cautions against confusing this word with the Latin *atrium*.
14 *l*. γίγνωσκε, Φνέβι: See **2583**.1 n.
15 πλατύμματος: The few references to this word in Greek do not help ascertain its meaning here. Maybe it is a platform-like object for transporting timber.
16 *l*. ἔταξα.
15, 18 *l*. κεῖσθαι.
21 *l*. ὤχληκε?
25 *l*. στραγεῦσαι: Not to be confused with στρατεῦσαι – M.-Th. Lenger, CdE 23 (1948) 112–115; T. Reekmans, Aegyptus 32 (1952) 286–292.

### Translation

Sotas to (his) brother Athenodoros, greetings and continual health, since I so wish it. Having been separated from you I went to Poimenon and stayed there six days. By your good fortune I was able to claim all (my debts?) there. I only cut one (tree?) ... he did not observe it. But I am in trouble ... (11f.) neither did he send the wagon, selecting first of all the things in the house's courtyard. Know, therefore, that the large persea tree in Phnebieus is lying on the "plate". I have calculated the breadth at 7 cubits and the length at 14 cubits. The things are lying in the hall in the courtyard. No one has taken anything. For you do not have such a one in the nome worth 600 drachmas .... The others have received, and the builders have paid the wages. I, therefore, write you so you know not to delay. Farewell. Year 15, Pachon 2. Verso: To Athenodoros.

## 2608 Letter

P. 25253 — Herakleopolites
21.6 x 13.5 cm. — *ca.* 7

Margins: upper 3.2, left 3, lower 8 cm. The same writer was responsible for **2609**, **2610**, **2611** and others, as can be seen by his characteristic script and idiosyncratic confusion of ει and ι.
Herakleides writes Athenodoros about problems he is having with recalcitrant beer brewers in Tilothis. The brewers have not yet milled the barley for the beer, and it does not seem they are about to do so, unless Athenodoros is willing to fork over more money (if one may extrapolate this interpretation from the garbled context of lines 3–5). Herakleides warns Athenodoros to direct his immediate attention to the matter; otherwise, the whole operation will be for naught.

Ἡρακλείδης Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶ[ι πλεῖστα]
χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν ὡς εὔ[χομαι·]

ἐπορεύθην εἰς Τ{ε}ιλῶθ{ε}ιν· οἱ ζυτοποιοὶ οὐκ ἤλη-
σαν τ{ε}ὴν κρ{ε}ιθὴν ἐὰν μὴ ἔκδυσκ...τστε αὐτοὺς
5 τοῦ στατῆρος εἰς τὸν Παῦν{ε}ι· διὸ ἐὰν φαίνηταί σοι
σήμηνον· {ε}ἴσθι δὲ πεπονεκὼς τὴν κρ{ε}ιθὴν
θυμικῶς· ἐὰν γὰρ λάθῃς, τὸ ὅλον ἀπορεῖται· διὸ
γράφω σοι ἵν' εἰδῇς· σήμηνον οὖν περὶ ὧν θέλει(ς)
καὶ σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγ{ε}ιαίνῃς· ἔρρωσο.
10 (ἔτους) κ. Καίσαρος Φαμενὼ(θ) ιη̅

vso: 'Αθηνοδώρωι [τ]ῶι διοικητ\ῇ/

8 θελει̇ 10 -μεν

3 Τ{ε}ιλῶθ{ε}ιν: Cf. H. Hauben, ZPE 8 (1971) 271.60, and Falivene 204 on the location of this village.
3–4 ἤλησαν: Forbes III 63ff., describes Egyptian beer production. Although the reading here is anything but certain, the fact that milled barley played a role in beer production lends it a certain credibility.
4 ἔκδυσκ: *non liquet.*
5 στατῆρος: Regling, "Stater", RE III A,2, 2171: "*Ein bestimmtes Gewicht hat der S. ... nicht, es sind so viele S. denkbar, als es Drachmen gibt, und auch über das Metall ist begrifflich nichts präjudiziert;*" 2174: "*Das im 3.–1. Jhdt. allein häufige Grossstück von 8 ptol. Drachmen, das sog.* μνα(ι)εῖον = *l (ptolem.) Mine = 100 Drachmen Silbers*". Cf. E. Christiansen, ZPE 54 (1984) 271ff.; P. Oxy. 3455.22ff.; P. Hamb. 227 Nachtrag (pp. 171–172).
τὸν Παῦν{ε}ι: That is, two and a half months later. Cf. **2606**.4–7.
ἐάν corrected from ενν.
6 *l.* πεπονηκώς.
6, 8 *l.* σήμανον: Parallel forms are cited in P. Merton II 62.10–12 n. and Olsson 8.20f. n.
10 Φαμενὼ(θ) ιη̅ = March 14.

Translation

Herakleides to his brother Athenodoros, (many) greetings and continual health, as I pray. I came to Tilothis. The beer brewers have not ground the barley, unless ... them for a *stater* in Payni. Please let me know, if it so please you. Get busy and tend to the barley, for if you forget it, all is lost. I am therefore writing to you, so that you know about it. Let me know, therefore, whatever you will, and take care of yourself so that you stay well. Farewell. Year 2– of Caesar, Phamenoth 18. Verso: To Athenodoros the *dioecete*.



## 2609 Letter of Surety

P. 25251 — Herakleopolites
17.7 x 17.4 cm. — Sept. 28, 7

Margins: upper 7.5; lower 3, left 5, right ± 2cm. Kollesis 2.3 cm. from the left margin. Verso blank. The same hand as on **2610**, **2611**, etc.
Herakleides presents Aspheus, son of Aspheus, a letter of surety guaranteeing him immunity from prosecution – except in the case of tax arrears – for thirty days. Parallels are: **1801**, **1811** = J. Hengstl, Griechische Papyri aus Ägypten, Darmstadt–Munich 1978, no. 52; BSAA 14 (1912) 196 = SB I 1414 = P. Alex., p. 14; Philologus 88 (1933) 297ff. = SB V 7636. Literature: Woess, Asylwesen 187ff.; Wolff, Recht 151.37; E. Weiss, Griechisches Privatrecht auf rechtsvergleichender Grundlage I, Leipzig 1923, repr. Aalen 1965, 538.21 (bibliography); D. Schäfer, "Zu den ptolemäischen πίστεις", Philologus 88 (1933) 296–30; E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA, 11.31 n.; W. Schmitz, ἡ πίστις in den griechischen Papyri, Diss. Cologne 1964.

Ἡρακλείδης 'Ασφεῖ 'Ασφέως χαίρειν·
δέδονταί σοι πίσ[τ]εις ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκειμ[έ-]
νης πρὸς ἡμέρας τρ{ε}ιάκον[τ]α χωρ{ε}ὶς
δημοσίων ἐν αἷς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περι-
5 σπασθήσῃ.
(ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος Φαῶφι α̅

1 Ἡρακλείδης: Possibly the *strategos* of the same name in **1188**.1 and **2586**.2, since it was the *strategos* who issued such letters of protection (Woess 188).
2 -εις corrected from -ις. Cf. E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 11.31 n. on the use of the plural in such letters of guaranty.
3 πρὸς ἡμέρας τρ{ε}ιάκον[τ]α: Olsson 47.7–8 n., cites Heb. 12.10: πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας and Clemens, *homil.* XX 15: πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν. Cf. **2655**.23.
3–4 Aspheus enjoys immunity only in regard to his private debts; he can still be called to account for overdue taxes.
The *mu* in δημοσίων has been written over.
4 The parallels make it likely that in SB I 1414.5–6 = P. Alex., p. 14, instead of ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ι [Φ]αῶ[φι.] ὑπ' οὐδενὸς one should probably read ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἐ[ν] αἷ[ς] ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κτλ.
4–5 Cf. **2613**.4 n.

Translation

Herakleides to Aspheus, son of Aspheus, greetings. A letter of protection has been issued to you (valid) for thirty days from the (day) noted below (guaranteeing you immunity) apart from taxes, during which time you may not be prosecuted by anyone. Year 24 of Caesar, Phaophi 1.

# 2610 Letter

P. 25240 — Herakleopolites
20.2 x 9.5 cm. — Nov. 13, 9

Margins: upper 3.8, left 2, lower 5.2 cm. Herakleides writes about various matters involving wheat. The same person who wrote **2609**, **2611**, **2612**, etc., was also responsible for writing this letter, as can be seen by his characteristic penmanship and idiosyncratic orthography.

Ἡρακλείδης Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι
ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ δὶα παντὸς
ὑγ{ε}ιαίνειν ὡς εὔχομαι· πλεονάκ{ε}ις σοι
ἔγραψα καὶ διὰ λόγων ἐρώτα γράψαι
5 τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις τῆς Κόμα ἵ̣ν̣α̣ τὸ σιτάριον
παραλάβωσιν κ' οὐκ ἐπο⟨ί⟩ησας· πάλ̣α̣ι ἐμοὶ
τὴν αιτ..[..] ἐπιλείψῃς, οἶδά σε μὴ ὄν-
τα ἀμελήν· ἐὰν γὰρ λάθῃς, [ἐμ]πέσῃ
εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τ{ε}ιμῆς· ὁ γὰρ πυ[ρὸ]ς χρηστὸς
10 ἐστ{ε}ίν· τὰ δ' ἄλλ{λ}α σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπ{ε}ιμέλου
ἵν' ὑγ{ε}ιαίνῃς· ἔρρωσ(ο) [κβ] (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρος Ἀθὺ(ρ) ι̣ζ̣

vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι

11 αθυ`

4 διὰ λόγων: Cf. P. Oxy. 292.7–8: ἠρώτησα ... διὰ γράπτου; H. Youtie, J. Winter, P. Mich. 492.5 n., for parallel expressions.
*l.* ἠρώτα.
5 τῆς Κόμα: Cf. **2611**.6 n.

Translation

Herakleides to Athenodoros, his brother, many greetings and continual health, as I wish. Often I have written to you and also in conversation I have requested that you write to the people in charge of finances in Koma in order that they take the grain – and you have not done it! ... I know you are not negligent. If, however, you should forget it, then you will have to reckon with the person in charge of the price. For the wheat is of the best quality. Otherwise, take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 22 of Caesar, Hathyr 5. Verso: To Athenodoros (our) brother.



# 2611 Letter

P. 25242 — Herakleopolites
25.5 x 13.5 cm. — Dec. 17, 10

Margins: upper 4, left 3, lower 5, right negligible. Traces of ink on the verso. Herakleides again writes to Athenodoros about grain deliveries. Same hand as: **2609**, **2610**, **2612**, etc.

Ἡρακλείδης Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγ{ε}ιαίνειν
ὡς ε⟨ὔ⟩χομαι· ἀνέγνων ἃ γεγράφεις· οὔτε ποταπῶι
μέτρωι ἐνβάλομαι οὐ γράφεις εἰς πόλ{ε}ιν· καὶ εἰ ἐκ τῶν
5 πρώτων πυρῶν ἐνβάλῃ εἰς Ἀλεξανδρέᾳ, σήμην(ον)·
εποπορος δέ μοι προσῆ⟨λ⟩θε ἐν τῇ Βουσίρει χάρ{ε}ιν
(πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) φ ἐκ δραχμῶν διακοσίων· ἐπὶ τόπου
⟨ε⟩ἴποι σοι· σήμηνον μοι αὔριον εἰς Βουσῖρ{ε}ιν ὡς τὸ
μέτρον ἐκεῖ ἐστ{ε}ιν· ἐγὼ{ι} γὰρ αὔριον εἰς Τιλῶθ{ε}ιν
10 πορεύομαι δο.[..]..[....]ματα τοῖς ἐμπόροις ειποι
traces [ ]. ἡμ̣ῖ̣ν ἵνα ἐὰν ἄλλ̣οι ἔλθωσιν
πωλῶι· καὶ μὴ καθάπαξ [απ] κατέχωμεν τοὺς ἐμπόρου(ς)·
τὰ δ' ἄ⟨λ⟩λα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγ{ε}ιαίνης{ς̣}.

ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Χοιὰκ κ̄

15 πάντως σήμηνόν μοι αὔριον περὶ τοῦ μέτρου καὶ περὶ
τοῦ ἐμπόρου· καὶ εἰς Τ{ε}ιλῶθειν μοι ἀποστεῖλον·
πέμψον σάκ⟨κ⟩κους· αἰτούμεθα φόρετ⟨ρ⟩ον τῶν ἑκατὸν
ἀρταβῶν (δρ.) δ.

5 -μην` 7 ⳨ 12 -πορο` 14 χοιακ 18 <

3 ἀνέγνων: The normal form in Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic papyri (Mandilaras, Verb §306[8]; Gignac, Morphology 294).
γεγράφεις: Cf. P. Giss. 47.21: δέδωκεις. Mandilaras, Verb §233, cites further examples of the pluperfect without the syllabic augment.
4 *l.* ἐμβάλωμαι.
5 πρώτων πυρῶν: According to R. Salomons, P. Vindob. Tandem 9.20 n. and H. Thompson, APF 9 (1930) 210, the first grain of the season. Cf. **2621.**16.
*l.* ἐμβάλῃ.
*l.* Ἀλεξάνδρειαν: Cf. Olsson 20.9: εἰς Ἀλεξανδρέᾳ and note.
*l.* σήμανον – also in lines 8 and 15.
6 *l.* ὁ ἔμπορος?

τῇ Βουσίρει: The article before the village name is unusual; cf. **2419**.2; Mayser II,2, p. 15.

7 ἐκ δραχμῶν διακοσίων: According to R.P. Duncan-Jones, Chiron 6 (1976) 241ff. and A.C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, Baltimore 1936, 310, the maximum price for an artab of wheat at this time was nine drachmas. Hence, 200 drachmas for one artab here seem implausible. On the other hand, if the sum represents the price for the amount of 500 artabs, it would be extremely cheap.

8 *l.* ἐν Βουσίρει: On the confusion between εἰς and ἐν see Olsson 20.9 n.; Mayser II,2: Satzlehre, pp. 372–373; Jannaris, pp. 376–379, §§1538, 1547, 1557; Blass 132–133 §205.

10 *l.* δοῦν[αι γρά]μματα?

16 *l.* ἐν Τιλώθει: Cf. l. 8 n.

Translation

Herakleides to Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health, as I pray. I have read what you wrote. You do not write, however, what measure I should use for transporting to the city. If you are going to ship grain from the first harvest to Alexandria, let me know. A wholesale merchant (?) came to me in Busiris because of 500 artabs of wheat for 200 drachmas. He may tell (you about it ?) at (your) place (= in person). Let me know tomorrow in Busiris how it is with the measure there. I am going tomorrow to Tilothis to give the wholesale merchants letters (?) ... so that I may sell, if others come. Let us not hold back the wholesale merchants in any way. Otherwise, take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Choiak 20.

Let me know for sure tomorrow about the measure and about the merchant. Write to me in Tilothis. Send sacks. We are required (to pay) 4 drachmas as transport fees for a hundred artabs.

## 2612 Letter

P. 25252 — Herakleopolites
20 x 16.5 cm. — June 25, 15

Margins: upper 4, lower 3, right 2.5, left 3 cm. *Kolleseis* 1.7 cm. from the right edge and 3 cm. from the left edge. Verso blank. The script is so unusually cursive that the individual letters often become lost in the jumble and have to be more divined than actually deciphered.

Seleukos writes to Athenodoros about various and sundry matters of interest and import only to them; the language used is so vague and cryptic as to be intelligible solely to these two correspondents.

Σέλε̣υ̣κ̣ο̣ς̣ Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα
χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι ἐπὶ π̣ά̣ντα προκεχ⟨ε⟩ίρισμαι·
πρὸς τ̣ὰ̣ δὲ ἕτερα εὖ πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις ἐμββλλόμενος αὐτῶι
ἑτέρους δύο καλοὺς καὶ ἀ̣ναγρομ̣εν̣α̣ι χρήσα̣ς



5 αν.δ.. μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγα̣ς πέμψω βαυβ..ς
δύο· ἐκ̣ παντὸς οὖν τρόπου π̣άντα μὴ κατα[...]ς
ἐπίστασαι γὰρ ὡς κατὰ σπουδὴν πο̣⟨ι⟩εῖ· ἡμ{ε}ῖν δὲ γ(ράφε)
περὶ \ὧ/(ν) βούλει·
ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ιε Καίσ(αρος) Ἐπεὶφ ᾱ

7 – ╒ 9 καισ̄

1 Σέλε̣υ̣κ̣ο̣ς̣: Cf. **2600.**10, **2613**, **2614**, **2634**.

2 The papyrus seems to show θοντα which is probably a cursively written π̣ά̣ντα. *l.* ὡς προκεχ⟨ε⟩ίρισμαι?, apparently a new greeting formula.

3 *l.* ἐμβαλλόμενος.

4 ἀ̣ναγρομ̣εν̣α̣ι: *l.* ὄναγρον ἐμοί?

6 ἐκ̣ παντὸς οὖν τρόπου: Cf. Olsson 25.9; 26.7.

7 κατὰ σπουδήν: Cf. Olsson 5.10, 17.13, citing further bibliography.

Translation

Seleukos to (his) brother, Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health in every way, since I desire it (for you). As far as the other things are concerned, you will do well to load on it two other good ones and .... After a few days I will send two .... You should, on no account, ...! You understand things have to be done quickly. Write us what you think about these things. Farewell. Year 15 of Caesar, Epeiph 1.

## 2613 Letter

P. 25244 — Herakleopolites
22.7 x 13.5 cm. — 15/14

Margins: upper 5, lower 7.5, left 1.5 cm. Verso blank. The same script as on **2645** and **2664**.

Seleukos, who sometimes appears as *dioecete* in the Athenodoros correspondence but here makes no mention of his position, complains to Athenodoros that his agents have been harassing Seleukos's agents. Seleukos makes it clear in no uncertain terms that he expects these incidents to cease forthwith.

Σέλευκος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖσ̣τ̣α̣
χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι· Ἡρᾶς ὁ ἐπισ-
τάτης κα̣ὶ Ἀρτεμᾶς ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ Ἡρακλᾶ̣ς̣
τοῦ Ἐβήους ἐντετεύχασι ὡς ἐνωχλουμένοι
5 ὑπὸ τῶν παρά σου πρὸς ἀριθμητικόν· ἐρωτῶ
οὖν σε συντάξαι τῶν συνεκδήμων μου

ἀποσκέσθαι ἢ ὅτι παροπλιεῖς με· μὴ οὖν
ἄλλως ποιήσῃς· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ
ἵν' ὑγιαίνῃς·
10 ——— ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ις Καίσα(ρος) Με.( ) β

1 Σέλευκος: Cf. **2612**.1 n. and p. 81.
4 Ἐβήους: *addendum onomasticis*; cf. **2440**.16: Ἐμβῆς.
ἐνωχλομένοι: E. Boswinkel, P. Lugd.-Bat. XXIIA 11.30 n., discusses whether or not there is any difference between the verbs παρενοχλεῖν and περισπᾶν; and A. Hanson, ZPE 47 (1982) 242, the use of παρενοχλεῖν to describe government officials' actions. Cf. her note in P. Turner 24.13–14; G. Horsley, NDIEC 3, no. 36.
5 ἀριθμητικόν: In the absence of any more precise qualifiers it is difficult to say exactly what sort of tax is involved here. It could be either the ἀριθμητικόν κατοικῶν (cf. Nelson, **2525** introd.; P. Sijpesteijn, R. Daniel, ZPE 59 [1985] 47f.) or the ἀριθμητικόν associated with the ἐννόμιον (Wallace 86–87). Less likely is the ἀριθμητικόν φυλακιτῶν (Wallace 330).
6 συνεκδήμων: Unattested in the documentary papyri. According to LSJ "fellow travellers"; here evidently referring not to people travelling with Seleukos but rather to his agents travelling together as a threesome.
7 *l.* ἀποσχέσθαι?
ἢ ὅτι: "*Widrigenfalls*", Mayser II, 3 §155, p. 47. Cf. **2371**.3,4.
παροπλιεῖς: Usually the word means "disarm", but in this context it seems to mean more the contrary: "enrage". Cf. the German *entrüsten* which has undergone a similar semantic shift: J. and W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Leipzig 1862, s.v. "*ursprünglich aber bedeutete es einem die rüstung, die waffen ausziehen, exspoliare*".

Translation

Seleukos to (his) brother Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health. Heras the *epistates*, Artemas the scribe and Heraklas, son of Ebes, have petitioned me because they have been harassed by your officials responsible for collecting the *arithmetikon*-tax. I, therefore, request you to stay away from my agents travelling together! Otherwise, you will anger me! Do not act contrary (to my wishes)! Otherwise, see to it that you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 16 of Caesar, Me- 2.

## 2614 Letter

P. 25390 Herakleopolites
14 x 11.5 cm. 15/14

Margins: upper 2.5, left 0.5–1 cm. Verso blank. The same writing as on **2605**, **2634**, **2636**, **2653**, **2667** and **2668.**
Athenodoros writes to Seleukos about petty financial matters.

Ἀθηνόδωρ[ος Σε]λεύκῳ τῷ [φιλτάτωι]
ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ δι[ὰ παντὸς]



ἐρρωμένῳ ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν ὡς [εὔχομαι·]
ὡς ἀπέστειλ[ε]ς λέγων μερίσαι ε[........]
5 τῷ ἐλεάτρῳ Α(ἰ)λιανῷ μέχρι οὗ κα[ὶ] τὰ θ'
ἐξαρτίσας ὀψωνίοις ἐμέρισα. δέομαι
δέ σου μὴ [μη] ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἧς μοι ὡ-
μολογήσας ῥυσασθαι ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας·
καὶ ἐάν σοι φαίνηται συντάξεις ὑμεῖν
10 γραφῆναι περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις σοι \..../ ἐγβησο-
μένων [θαιαναμλη] ἐρωτῶ δέ σέ μοι πέμψα-
σθαι Ἡρακλῆν τὸν χωλὸν ἄλογος ησ[..]ι αὐ-
τὸν καὶ νῦν γενέσθαι.
...[
].ημ[
------------

3 ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν: This expression is frequent in the Athenodoros archive. Cf. Olsson 18.12. R.Bagnall, BASP 6 (1969) 85 and U. Wilcken, UPZ 60.15 n., cite other occurrences of the relatively rare ἐπανάγειν. Wilcken analyzes such parallel expressions as ἱκανῶς, στενῶς, μετρίως ἐπανάγειν and comes to the conclusion that the verb "*in ganz abgeblasster Bedeutung geradezu für* ἔχειν *'sich befinden' steht. Die zugrunde liegende Bedeutung des Verbums dürfte aber die des 'sich Erholens' sein ... Hiernach würde verständlich sein, dass Adverbien wie die obigen damit verbunden werden, nicht* βέλτιστα, *o. ä*". Here, however, contrary to his impressions, is the superlative ἄριστα. Cf. Olsson no. 18.12–13: τὰ ἄριστα πράττων. Cf. **2619**.2 and Plato, *epist.*, *passim*: εὖ πράττειν.
5 μέχρι οὗ: Cf. Olsson 19.7 n. (= **1204**.7) on this construction without ἄν.
Pap.: τα θ'.
9 *l.* μοι

Translation

Athenodoros to Seleukos, most (beloved) brother, many greetings, (continual) health and prosperity, as (I wish for you). Since you wrote me saying to pay out ... to the cook Ailianus ... I have paid, supplying (him/them?) with the salaries. I, therefore, ask you not to forget what you promised to save for me from the household. If it please you, order that it be written to us concerning the things which are first going to happen to you. Therefore, I ask you to send me the cripple Herakleides ....

## 2615 Letter

P. 25182 Herakleopolites
10.7 x 8.5 cm.

Margins: upper 2, left 2, right 1.7 cm. Verso blank.
The sole interest of this shabby fragment is prosopographical, for in it we learn the names of Athenodoros's parents: Menelaos and Herakleia – provided that Menelaos and Herakleia are, in fact, addressing their biological son and not just employing the Greek word for son as an indiscriminate and general term of familiarity.

Μενέλαος καὶ Ἡράκλεια Ἀθηνοδώρωι
τῶι υἱῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένω̣ι
διευτυχεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς κ[α]θάπερ
εὐχόμεθα· ..ου σου τὰς λ..[ ]κατα
5 ..οίμεθα οὐκ ἔχομεν [ ]υτο
[ ]οσασε.[ ].αι
[ ]..σι[ ]
ημειν ἡμεῖν τασ[ ].
ποιῇ ἀφ' ὧν ...[ ]
10 [..]ου γράφει διὰ παντ[ὸς ]
[ ]θος καὶ .[ ]
---------------------------

1–2 Cf. **2617**.1 n. In UPZ I 70, Apollonios addresses his brother Ptolemaios with "father"!

Translation

Menelaos and Herakleia to (their) son, Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health, forever and at all times as we wish ....

## 2616 Letter

P. 25393 Herakleopolites
21.7 x 16.5 cm. January 9, 13

Margins: upper 5.3, left 3, lower 2.5. Verso blank.
Athenodoros writes to his father (who remains here otherwise unnamed) that he will shortly be coming to him. Other members of Athenodoros's family are mentioned by name throughout the letter.



Ἀθηνόδωρος τῶι πατρὶ πλεῖστα χαίρειν
[καὶ] ἐρρωμέν[ω]ι διευτυχεῖν·
[±9 ].[.] εἰς Π[εενσ]αμοὶ ταχύτερο[ν]
τὸν ἀ[δε]λφὸν Ὀννῶφριν· γ{ε}ίνωσκέ με
5 τοὺς ἐν.[...]έχοντα κ...ι̣ο̣νω̣ι· καὶ γράφε μοι
σὺ πε̣ρ̣[ὶ τῆ]ς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας· ἐπισκ[όπει] τὴν
ἀ̣ναπ̣[.].ν καὶ τὴν̣ ἀδελφὴν κα̣ὶ [τὸν ἀ]δε[λ]φὸν
.[.... κ]αὶ Τρύ̣φ̣α̣ι̣ναν καὶ Ἡρακλείδην τ[ὸν]
φίλον· γ[ε}ίνωσκε δὲ ἡμᾶς ταχύτερον ἀνα-
10 πλέοντες·
ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσαρος Τῦβι ιγ̅

1 τῶι πατρί: Menelaos? Cf. **2615**.1.
3 Π[εενσ]αμοί: Cf. **2437**.41; **2640**.3; SB I 5681.19; P. Lugd.-Bat. XIII 13.2; W. Clarysse, Anc. Society 7 (1976) 202; P. Hels. I 26 A 28.
4, 9 *l.* γίγνωσκε.
5 -κ̣ι̣νω̣ι?
6 *l.* ὑμῶν.
σωτηρίας: Cf. **2659**.6.
7 *l.* ἀνεψιάν?
9–10 *l.* ἀναπλέοντας.

Translation

Athenodoros to his father, many greetings, health and good fortune. ... in Peensamoi quickly brother, Onnophris. Know that I .... Write me how you are. Watch over my niece (?), my sister, my brother, ... Tryphaina and (my) friend, Herakleides. Know that we are soon going to sail up. Farewell. Year 17 of Caesar, Tybi 13.

## 2617 Letter

P. 25238 Herakleopolites
22 x 15 cm. July 11, 7

Margins: upper 1.5, lower 8.7, right ± 4 cm. Athenodoros's father/mother, Tryphas, reports to his/her son the delivery of a load of wood and pots. Some of Athenodoros's family members known from other letters in the archive appear here.

Τρυφ̣[ᾶ]ς Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι υἱῶι
πλεῖ[στ]α χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὐτυχεῖν
[ὡς εὔχο]μαι· ἐκομισάμην ἃς ἀπέστειλες

[καὶ ἠ]σ̣φαλ̣ι̣σάμην αὐτὰ δι' ἐμα⟨υ⟩τῆς τεσσαρά-
5 [κ]οντα κορμοὺς καὶ ἕνα καὶ δεκάτρια κεράμια·
[ἀσπ]άζου τὰς κυρίας μου θυγατρες Τρυφᾶν
καὶ Ἄρτεμιν· παρὰ πάντα ἐπιμέλου σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ
[ἵ]να ὑγι[αίν]ῃς ὅ ἐστί μοι εὐκτότατον παρὰ
πᾶσ̣ι̣ τοῖ⟨ς⟩ θεοῖς.
10 ἔρρωσ(ο)
(ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ ιζ

vso: ἀπόδος παρὰ Τρυφ[ᾶ τῶι Ἀθηνοδώρωι *aut sim.*

1 Τρυφ[ᾶ]ς: Cf. **2618**. 1 ≠ **2615**.2, where Menelaos and Herakleia address Athenodoros as their son. F. Preisigke, P. Strasb. 2.1 n., considers the word υἱός in such salutations as fictive, a mere term of endearment, with no deeper significance than the somewhat more common ἀδελφός or πατήρ.

3 *l.* οὕς.

4 *l.* αὐτούς.
*l.* ἐμαυτοῦ? One is inclined to emend, since Tryphas is a man's name. In l. 6, however, one of the daughters is also named Tryphas. Furthermore, in **2618** a certain Tryphas writes to his or her son Athenodoros using feminine participles (l. 13: εὑρουμένη καὶ ἐνεχυρασαμένη). Presumably some sort of linguistic confusion is at play here resulting in these errors of gender.

4–5 *l.* τεσσαρά[κ]οντα καὶ ἕνα κορμούς.

6 *l.* θυγατέρας.

7 Ἄρτεμιν: Cf. **2618**.2.
παρὰ πάντα: Cf. **2600**.17, **2622**.22; P. Heid. IV 48.16.

8 εὐκτότατον: Cf. **2600**.19; P. Cugusi, ZPE 40 (1980) 184–186; A. Bowman, D. Thomas, Vindolanda: The Latin Writing-Tablets, London 1983, no. 21.6–7 n.; H. Koskenniemi, Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr. (= Annales Acad. Scient. Fennicae Ser. b, tom. 102.2), Helsinki 1956, 129–130.

12 ἀπόδος παρά: Cf. Olsson p. 21 and no. 19.20; P. Heid. IV 48.18; F. Ziemann, De epistularum graecarum formulis, Diss. Phil. Hal. 18, 1911, 278f. (*non vidi*).

Translation

Tryphas to her son, Athenodoros, many greetings and continual health, as I wish. I have received the forty-one tree trunks and thirteen jars which you sent and have brought them into a safe place myself. Give my regards to the ladies, my daughters, Tryphas and Artemis. Otherwise, take care of yourself that you stay healthy – my most fervent wish by all the gods. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar, Epeiph 17. Vso: Give from Tryphas (to Athenodoros?).



## 2618 Letter

P. 25245 Herakleopolites
26.5 x 11.5 cm. May 10, 7

Margins: upper 2.5, left 1.5, right ± 1 cm.
Tryphas addresses this letter to Athenodoros and his sister Artemis but consistently employs only second person singular pronoun forms throughout the letter, thus implying that that it is mainly Athenodoros to whom this letter is directed. Tryphas complains to Athenodoros that the grain, which Athenodoros was supposed to have sent, has not yet arrived. Furthermore, because Athenodoros has not paid certain fines, some of the slaves are still being held in prison and will probably die as a result of his negligence. Two bailiffs are daily harassing Tryphas to pay the money. In a final note of paternal/maternal concern, Tryphas cautions Athenodoros to lock his grain away, giving none of it to anyone. The price of grain on that day has already gone up by three obols, and there is widespread fear it may increase even further.

Τρυφᾶς Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῷ υἱῷ καὶ
Ἀρτέμιτι τῇ θυγατρὶ πλεῖστα
χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσ̣θ̣α̣ι̣·
γ{ε}ίνωσκε τὸν σῖτον ὃν ἀπέστει̣-
5 λές μοι μὴ εἰληφέναι με αὐ̣τ̣ό̣ν̣· ⟨κα-⟩
τέλαβον γὰρ ὅτ̣[ι] ο̣ὐ συνφέρει με λα[β-]
εῖν αὐτόν· τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν κέλευ' α[ὐ-]
τὸν ἀρθῆναι· οὐδ' ἔθοας οὐδ' οὐ-
θε̣ὶς εὐτονεῖ τὰ σώματ' ἐκπα⟨ί⟩ε̣ι̣ν̣·
10 ἑκάστης δὲ ἡμέρας ἐνοχλοῦ-
μαι ὑπὸ δύωι στατόρων Σω̣κ̣[ρά-]
του τε καὶ Ἐλήμμονος [.....]
εὑρουμένη καὶ ἐνεχυρασαμ̣έ̣-
νη· πολλάκι⟨ς⟩ σοι δὲ γεγράφη̣[κ]α̣·
15 σοὶ μελήσῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμά-
των· ἀποθανοῦνται ἐν τῇ φυλα-
κι· καλῶς δὲ πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις ἀκού-
σας μου καὶ τὸν σ{ε}ῖτόν σου συν-
κλείσας καὶ μηθενὶ μηθὲν
20 διδών· τῇ γὰρ πεντακαιδεκάτῃ
ἀνέβη (τριωβόλου) καὶ φοβοῦνται μὴ τιμιώ-
τερος γένηται· ἀσπάζεταί σε Νάρ-
δος καὶ Νεικᾶς καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκωι πάν-

τες· ἐπιμέλου δὲ σ⟨ε⟩α⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαί(νῃς)·
25 ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρος Παχ\ὼ/(ν) ιε

vso: ἀπό\δ/(ος) Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι υἱῶι.

21 ϡ 25 υγιαι

1 Τρυφᾶς: Cf. **2617**.1 n.
2 Ἀρτέμιτι: Cf. **2617**.7.
4 *l.* γίγνωσκε.
8 ἔθοας: LSJ Suppl. *s.v.* θοάω = θοάζω suggests translating "penalize, fine" instead of "pay the penalty". However, in the present context the latter translation seems more appropriate.
10 ἐνοχλοῦμαι: Cf. **2613**.4 n.
11 *l.* δυοῖν.
στατόρων: *Statores* also appear in SB 8248.23 = OGIS II 665 = CIG 2956 = Congr. 4, p. 9; P. Hamb. I 39, p. 76. P. Jouguet in: Congr. 4, p. 10, and J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3917.1 n., discuss the word. Here, the *statores* are evidently bailiffs empowered to collect the fines which Tryphas or Athenodoros owe for the slaves in prison.
13–14 *l.* εὑρομένη καὶ ἐ. or εὑρόμενος καὶ ἐνεχυρασάμενος if Tryphas is a man. Hendiadys.
16–17 *l.* φυλακῇ.
20 Why does not Tryphas write σήμερον "today", for the letter is written on the 15th of Pachon?
22–23 Νάρδος: "Spikenard". The name seems to be unattested; cf. SB 7255: Ναρδίων and **2419**.2: Ἀμάρακος "Marjoran". For bibliography on slaves' nomenclature see **2372**.4f. n; H. Chantraine, Freigelassene und Sklaven ... ihre Nomenklatur, Wiesbaden 1967; P. Vindob. Tandem 9.19 n.; H. Heinen, Stud. Hell. 27 (1983) 136.13, 138.17,18 etc.; U. Horak, Tyche 4 (1989) 104–107.
24 σ⟨ε⟩α⟨υ⟩τοῦ: Cf. Döllstädt, p. 10.

Translation

Tryphas to son, Athenodoros, and daughter, Artemis, greetings and continual health. You should know that I have not yet received the grain which you sent me. For I understand it was not expedient for me to get it. Therefore, order it to be sent.
You have not paid the fines. No one can free the slaves. Every day I am harassed by the two bailiffs, Sokrates and Elemmon, because I am found owing. I have written to you often enough to see to the slaves. They will die in prison!
You will do well to listen to me and lock up your grain, giving nothing to anyone. For it went up by three obols on the fifteenth, and they fear it will become even more expensive. Nardos, Neikas and all the others in the house send their regards. Take care of yourself that you stay well. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar, Pachon 15.
Vso: Give to Athenodoros, (my) son.



# 2619 Letter

P. 25388 Herakleopolites
10.7 x 11.4 cm.

Margins: upper 2, left 1 cm. Erasistratos needs radishes for a φάρμακον and reminds Athenodoros to send the ones he apparently at some time had promised him. It is unclear whether the radishes are intended for medicine or magic, since the ambiguous word φάρμακον can mean either, and radishes appear in both medicinal and magical contexts.

Ἐρασίστρατος Ἀθηνο̣[δώρωι .....]
εὖ πράσσ⟨ε⟩ιν [ ]
Ἄμμωνος τοῦ παρὰ ...[.......]
ε̣νου ὡς σε ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνων ἀσπά-
5 σασθαί σε καὶ ὑπομνῆσαι περὶ τοῦ ῥα-
φανίνου· νῦν γάρ μοι χρὴ ἀπράκτεως
ημ.τ̣ακονα συντιθέντι τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ
φάρμ̣α̣κον ὅθεν εἰ̣ μή σοι φόρ[ι]μ̣ο̣ν
πέμψεις μοι ἄδολον ἵνα ᾖ̣ χρήσι-
10 μον· τ' ἄλλα δ' ἐπιμέλου ὑγιείας σ̣ο̣υ̣
ἵνα σε καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα ἔχωμεν
--------------------------

vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι] διοικητῆι

1 Ἐρασίστρατος: The name is heretofore unattested in the papyri; cf. Pape; SEG 29 (1979) 1245.
2 εὖ πράσσ⟨ε⟩ιν: Cf. Döllstädt, p. 30; P. Strasb. 553 (Addend.), 772.25; CPR VII 55.3; Olsson no. 18.12–13, for similar expressions; and Plato, *epist.*: εὖ πράττειν *passim*.
3–4 Cf. **2637**. 2–3. One expects here something like ἀφικνομένου πρός σε κτλ.
4–5 ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνων ἀσπάσασθαί σε: Cf. Olsson, no. 35.3 (= **824**.3) who cites as parallels no. 75.3 (= P. Oxy. XIV 1756.3), no. 53.19 (= P. Fay. 111.19), II Cor. 9.5. Cf. Mandilaras §347; B. Kramer, P. Köln VI 278.3–4 n.; N. Lewis, BASP 11 (1974) 52; **2659**; A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, Untersuch. z. kopt. Briefformular, Würzburg 1983, 62–63.
5–6 ῥαφανίνου: Cf. Sandy 6; Marganne 221; R. Germer, "Rettich", LdÄ V, 247. Radish-oil is specified for use in a magical ceremony in PGM II 55.
6 *l.* ἀπράκτως?
8–9 The distinction Erasistratos makes between φόριμος and ἄδολος is not readily apparent.
10 *l.* τὰ δ' ἄλλα.

Translation

Erasistratos to Athenodoros ... prosperity .... Since Ammon, the ... (is coming to you?), I considered it necessary to send you my regards and remind you about the

radish. For I now need ... since I am preparing the medication with it. Hence, if you do not have any that is in fruit (?), send me some pure so that it can be used. Otherwise, pay attention to your health so that we may receive you in prosperity. Vso: To Athenodoros, the *dioecete*.

## 2620 Letter

P. 25278 Herakleopolites
22.7 x 5.6 cm., 22.2 x 6.7 cm.

Margins: upper 5, lower 8, left 2.5, right 1.2–3.3 cm. *Kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the left.

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀθηνοδώ[ρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι] πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ
διὰ παντὸς ὑγαίνειν [ὡς εὔχομαι· ἔχω τὰ] παρά σου γράμματα δι᾽ οὗ
[ἐ]σήμαινες περὶ τῆς [ ± 12 ]να μοι οὐ κακοπαθεῖ
α[..] ε̣ἰσὶν ἐν Ἡρακλ[έους πόλει ]ω ἕως γενόμ[εν]ος·
5 σήμερον οὖν τεύξ[ομαι ± 5 τὰ δ'] ἄλλα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλ(ου)
ἵν᾽ ὑγαίνῃς· [ (ἔτους) .. Καίσ]αρος Παχὼν ζ

vso: Ἀθη[νοδ]ώρωι

2 *l.* δι᾽ ὧν.

Translation

Ammonios to Athenodoros (my brother), many greetings and continual health, (as I wish. I have received the) letter from you via which you reported about the ... he is not in trouble ... in Herakleopolis ... Therefore, today I shall meet .... Otherwise, take care of yourself so that you stay healthy. (Year ...) of Caesar, Pachon 7. Vso: To Athenodoros.

## 2621 Letter

P. 25279 Herakleopolites
30 x 12 cm. Sept. 15, 16

Margins: upper 3.5, lower 4, left 1.7 cm.
A certain Apollo writes to Athenodoros, addressing him with the familiar Athas, requesting various favors from him.

Ἀπόλλων Ἀθᾶι [τῷ] ἀδελ[φῷ] [πλ]ε̣ῖστα χ̣α̣ί(ρειν) .......( )



καλῶς πο⟨ι⟩ή[σ]ε̣ι̣ς̣ [πέμψων π]υροῦ ἀρτάβ[ας ...]
τη.ητα ........ ἑκά̣στων ἐρίων
παρ[ ± 20 ].νος παρ᾽ αὐτὴν
5 καὶ αὐτοὺς απ.[ ± 10 ]̣έσταλκα δὲ εἰ κατ᾽
Ἀσκλᾶτος ἐπεσταλ[ ± 8 ]λυσαι πίστεις
τῶι̣ Ἀπελλᾶτι .[ ....] καλῶς πο⟨ι⟩ήσας δοὺς
αὐτὰ τῶι Πτολλᾶτι· δέ̣δ̣οται παρά σου αὐτὰ
ἔχ[ε]ιν traces
10 ἰσχ̣ύ̣εται κατ᾽ ἀ[ὐτοὺ]ς ἐγὼ τὴν διπλῆν χάριτά
σοι ἀποδοῦναι .[.....].... αὐ̣τὸν σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ· εἰσ-
.λας γὰρ καθ̣[α]ρῆναι αυτῶι, σοῦ μετα-
καλέσα[ν]τος κ.....[ ...]σθαι ......ναν ε.
ἠθέλετε· λοιπὸν [ο]ὖν γενηθεὶς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ,
15 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσατε ἔχοντα τὸ ἀργύρι(ον)
καὶ τὸν πυρὸν· δεύτερον γὰρ ἥδ̣ι̣στον ἀποπρ..\υ/()
μεμάνηκ̣ά̣ σου μεγαλῶς διατρέπομαι
λοιπὸν οὖν γράφε περὶ ὧν ἐὰν βούλῃ καὶ
traces ἔρρ\ω/(σο)· (ἔτους) ιε Καίσαρ(ος) Θὼθ ιη̄
20 vso: ἀπόδο]ς Ἀθην̣[οδώρῳ̣

1 Ἀθᾶι: Cf. **2647**.15, **2655**.13.
8 Πτολλᾶτι: Cf. **2602**.11,18, **2659**.11.
10 τὴν διπλῆν χάριτα: Cf. **2622**.15–16.
11–12 εἰσάσας?
15 Pap.: αργυρῑ
16 Cf. **2611**.5: πρώτων πυρῶν.
17 μεμάνηκ̣α: An unusual active form of this ordinarily deponent verb.
18 *l.* ἄν.
19 ἔρρ\ω/(σο): Döllstädt, p. 11, compares the use of ἔρρω(σο) and ἀσπάζομαι.
Pap.: καισαρ̄

Translation

Apollo to Athas, (my) brother, many greetings .... Please send ... artabs of wheat ... each of the fleeces ... (l. 6) prepare letters of surety for Apellas .... You did well to give them to Ptollas. These were given by you (for him?) to have .... It is possible for me to have my pleasure in them doubled by giving to you .... (l. 14) Moreover, therefore, when you are together with him, release the man who has the money and the wheat. For the second (wheat) is the best (quality) .... I was very angry with you, since I was deterred .... Write about whatever you wish, and .... Farewell. Year 15 of Caesar, Thoth 18. Vso: Give to Athenodoros.

# 2622 Letter

P. 25181 Herakleopolites
26 x 13 cm.

Margins: upper 3.6, lower 1.5, left 1 cm. The same hand as on **2643**, **2644**.
Mnaseas writes to Athenodoros in his function as *dioecete* about different matters, especially about a certain Hermas who was supposed to have brought money but who arrived empty-handed. Mnaseas also implores Athenodoros to look after a certain Thermuthas who needs money. She will soon be attending the festival of Demeter, and without financial support she runs the risk of remaining "profane". In conclusion, Mnaseas requests woolens for the winter.

Μνασέας Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
κ̣α̣ὶ̣ διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν ὡς εὔχομαι·
ἐξ̣ενίσθην μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῶι Ἑρ̣μᾶ̣ν̣ παραγενό-
5 μ̣ενον μηδ̣ὲν ἐνηνοχέναι ὧν ἔγραψεν
ἐσχηκέναι παρά σου· ἔγραψέν μοι γὰρ ὅτ[ι] ανο-
μ..ος ..[.]ων.. .... ἔσχηκεν ἀργυρίο̣υ̣
δ̣ρ̣α̣\χ̣/(μὰς) τετρακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα κ̣αὶ ἀντὶ τῶν γεγον[(υιῶν)]
.....ων δρα\χ/(μ- ) διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) χπ· λοιπὸν οὖν
10 διοικητά, \τῆς/ Θερ[μ]ουθᾶτος φροντίσας ταχύτερον
α̣ὐ̣τ̣ῇ̣ πέ̣[μψον ἵ]να μὴ ἐν Δημητρίοις ἀνίε-
ρ[ο]ς γένηται· καὶ σὺ γὰρ γνοσεισαι ὅτι οὐδέ πω
οὐκέτι ἰσχύω· μὴ οὖν [διὰ] τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς̣ περισπασμοὺς
ἀμελήσῃς ἀλλ' ὡς πάντοτ' ἐποίε⟨ι⟩ς καὶ νῦν
15 αὐτῆς φρόντισον ἐγ καιροῦ ἵνα διπλῆ
[ἡ] χ̣άρ̣ις γένηται· ἡμ̣ε̣ῖ̣ς μ̣ὲν γάρ ἐσμεν ἀμν-
[ήμονες· Ἑ]ρμᾶς οὐ μὴ ἀμελήσῃ ἀλλὰ σχεθῇ σε
[.....] νῦν δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐλπίδας διὰ τῆς
ἐπιστολῆς ἐνβαλὼν μεμυκτήρικεν· καὶ τὰ
20 ἐρίδια· εὖ καλῶς ποιήσας β ταχύτερον πέμψον
ἵν' ἔχ̣ῃ εἰς τὸν χειμῶνα· ἀ̣λ̣λ̣ὰ ἐὰν οὐ μή,
καὶ ἃ πόκια παρακληθεὶς πέμψο̣ν̣· παρὰ
πάντα δὲ σε⟨αυ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑ̣γ̣ι̣α̣ί̣ν̣ῃ̣ς̣
ἃ δὴ πρῶτον ἡμῖν τῶν εἰς εὐχήν ἐστιν·
25 ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους)[

vso: παρὰ Μνασέου 11.5 cm. Ἀθ̣ηνοδώρωι
9/ υ-



3 ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν: Cf. **2614**.3 n.
4,17 The Hermas here might be the same one as the Hermas in **2634** and **2660**.12.
9 λοιπὸν οὖν: A pleonasm according to D. Tabachovitz, Etudes sur le grec de la basse époque, Uppsala 1943, 29–32. Cf. A. Hanson, BASP 24 (1987) 98: τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν.
11 Δημητρίοις: Papyrological attestations to the festival of Demeter are listed in Ronchi, Lexicon *s.v.* and L. Casarico, Aegyptus 61 (1981) 126–131. Cf. Fraser I, 198–201, and F. Perpillou-Thomas, "Fêtes d'Egypte hellénistique et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque," Studia Hellenistica (forthcoming). Since the Demeter festival seems to have taken place in Phaophi (November) this letter would have been written sometime before then.
11–12 ἀνίερ[ο]ς: The word, which is relatively rare, appears here for the first time in the documentary papyri. In the mundane language of Mnaseas's letter it denotes probably nothing more consequential than that Thermuthas might be short of cash at the festival and hence unable to participate fully in all the rituals thought necessary.
12 *l.* γνοίης: Apparently Mnaseas tried writing a so-called Aeolic optative; cf. Gignac Morphology 360.
14 ὡς πάντοτ' ἐποίε⟨ι⟩ς?, ὡς πάντοτε ποιε⟨ῖ⟩ς?
15 *l.* ἐκ.
16–17 ἀμν[ήμονες is somewhat too long for the lacuna.
17 οὐ μή: Mayser II,1 §44 (p. 233) condemns this usage.
18–19 The letter which Hermas is supposed to have written (cf. l. 6) was written only to rouse false hopes in Mnaseas. According to Mnaseas's interpretation of the matter, Hermas's sole concern was to make laughingstocks of his addressees.
19 *l.* ἐμβαλών.
20 ἐρίδια: See J. Keenan, "Pastoralism in Roman Egypt", BASP 26 (1989) 175–200, esp. 183ff., on Roman Egypt's "wool strategy".
*l.* εὖ {καλῶς}, {εὖ} καλῶς?
21–22 *l.* ἀ̣λ̣λ̣ὰ ἐὰν οὐ μή ⟨ἐρίδια ἔχῃς⟩, καὶ ἃ πόκια ⟨ἔχῃς⟩ κτλ.
22–23 παρὰ πάντα: Cf. **2600**.17, **2617**.7, **2624**.14: πρὸ μὲν ὅλων.
24 ἃ δὴ πρῶτον κτλ.: Cf. **2600**.19, **2624**, **2643**, **2659**, **1204**.8, **1206**.49 (= Olsson, nos. 2 and 6); *ibid.*, no. 43.5–60.

## Translation

Mnaseas to my brother Athenodoros, the *dioecete*, many greetings, continued health and prosperity, because I wish it. I was deeply concerned because upon his arrival here Hermas did not have all the things which he wrote he had received from you. For he wrote me that ... he had 480 drachmas and instead of the ..., two hundred drachmas, all told 680 drachmas. Moreover, *dioecete*, look after Thermuthas and send her (money?) at once so that she not become profane at the Demeter festival. You should know that I am not at all healthy. See to it that you with all your work obligations do not neglect her. Rather make sure that even now –as always in the past – you take care of here at the right time, so that (our) joy be doubled. We are ungrateful (?). Hermas should not be negligent but rather hold you .... Although he roused our hopes with his letter, he has derided us.
With regard to the wool: You would do well to send us quickly two (fleeces), so that they are here for the winter. If that is not possible, then send us whatever fleeces you have. Above all, take care of yourself so you stay healthy – the first thing in ou prayers. Fare well. Year .... Vso: From Mnaseas to Athenodoros.

## 2623 Letter of Recommendation

P. 25241 Herakleopolites
19.7 x 16 cm. April 17, 10

Margins: upper 2, left 3, lower 5.5 cm.
Leukios, a friend of Phaidros, is about to go on a business trip to the Herakleopolite nome. Since he has no acquaintances there and no place to stay, Phaidros remembers his old friend, Athenodoros, and asks of him a favor, namely, to look after Leukios. For bibliography on letters of recommendation see **2654** introd.

Φαῖδρος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν κα[ὶ]
ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστ' ἐπανάγειν ὡς βούλομαι——
Λεύκιος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἀναπλέων εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλεοπο\λ/(ίτην)
ἐπὶ εἴσπραξιν ἰδίων κερματίων ἄνωθέν μοι
5 ὢν φίλος ἠ̣ρώτησεν οὗ στῆσαι αὐτὸν εἴ τισιν ἔχειν
ἐκεῖ σε φίλοις· οὐχ ὁρῶν οὖν ἐν τῶι παρό̣ντι ἄ̣[λλο]ν̣ [ἀ-]
νότερόν σου ὡρμήθην γράψας παρακαλέσαι σε εἰ
ἄρα ἔτι ἔστιν τίς σοι μνήμην [ἡ]μῶν· εἰκὸς δ' ἐ̣[στιν]
οὖν ἐπισχῖσαι τ'ἀνδρ⟨ε⟩ῖ[α] καὶ φρ[ο]ντίσαι ἐν οἷς ἐάν [σου]
10 χρήσηι ἐν τῶι τῆς ἐπ̣ι̣δ̣ημίας χρόνωι· πε̣ί̣[θομαι]
γὰρ αὐτόν τέ σοι εὐαρεστήσειν ἐμὲ οὐχ ἧττ[ον]
αἰσθησόμενον τὸ ἔκ σου σπουδαῖον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα [......]
[σε]α̣υ̣τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ καὶ τοῦ ὑγιαίν[ε]ι̣ν ἐπιμέλου——-
ἔρρ\ω/(σο)· (ἔτους) κ Καίσ\α/(ρος) Παχὼν β¯

15 vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι

2 ἄριστ' ἐπανάγειν: Cf. **2614**.3 n.
3 Λεύκιος = Lucius?
5 ἠρώτησεν: As Keyes, AJP 56 (1935) 42, says, this request weakens the recommendation.
5–6 *l.* οὗ στήσαιμι αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ ἐχοίμην σε ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ φίλοις.
7 ὡρμήθην: Cf. **2420**.4; PSI IV 299.2; Döllstädt, no. III, p. 30.2.
6–7 *l.* ἀνώτερον.
9 ἐπισχῖσαι τ' ἀνδρῖ[α]: Taken *au pied de la lettre* this makes no sense. It must obviously be an idiom.
11 οὐχ ἧττ[ον]: Cf. P. Giss. bibl. 20.6: οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον.
12 αἰσθησόμενον: Cf. **249**.19–20: αἰσθόμενός σου τὴν εἴς με φιλοφ[ροσ]ύ[νην].

Translation

Phaidros to his brother, Athenodoros, greetings, best prosperity and health, as I wish. Leukios, a good man, is coming up to the Herakleopolites to collect his money. Since he has long been a friend of mine, he asked me where I might be able to find him room and if I counted you among my friends there. Since I know no one else at present who lives further up than you, I have taken the trouble to write you and ask (this favor), if you are still able to remember us. It is fitting to show manly virtue and to attend to whatever he might require of you during his stay. I believe he will please you, and I for my part will not be left feeling any lack of effort made on your part. Otherwise, take care of yourself and your health. Farewell. Year 20 of Caesar, Pachon 2. Vso: To Athenodoros.



## 2624 Letter

P. 25255 Herakleopolites
19.7 x 16 cm.

Margins: upper 5 cm., left 2–2.5 cm., right variable, lower 5.3 cm. Three layers of papyrus are visible along the entire right edge of the letter for a width of 1.8 cm. Kraterion writes to Athenodoros, whom he addresses as *dioecete*, about sundry affairs which will remain forever intelligible to them alone.

Κρατερίων Ἀθη[νοδώρωι τῶι]
διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χ̣αίρ̣[ειν καὶ]
ἐρρωμένῳ̣ διε[υτ]υ̣χεῖν
καὶ εἰ πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ τα[ῦ]τα εὖ
5 καταστρέφεται, νοῶ ἐγὼ ε.[...]ι̣
οὐ καταναβαλοῦμαι τὸ ἄλλ[ο...]
πλοῖον εἰς τὸ ἐνγ̣ινόμεν-
[ον ]
συντε.[....]σ.ε̣τ̣ε̣μβυ.αιοι̣ς̣
10 εἰς λόγον καὶ ...ον· λοι[πὸν]
οὖν πεμ[ ]
μέχρι οὗ παραδῶ τοῖς εν...λ\ε/( )
ἐπὶ σφραγίδων [..]σας σου· πρὸ μὲν
ὅλων σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγι(αίνη̣ς) ὃ δὴ μέγισ(τον)
15 ἡμεῖν ἐστιν· ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) κγ Καίσαρ ..ε̣φ̣ ιξ

14 υ|† , μεγισ

1 Κρατερίων: Cf. **2601**.15 n.
6 καταναβαλοῦμαι: *addendum lexicis*.
7–8 *l.* ἐγγιγνόμενον.
12 μέχρι οὗ: Cf. **2614**.5 n.
14 ὃ δὴ μέγισ(τον): Cf. **2622**. 24, **2630**. 16, **2631**. 19, **2643**. 28, **2644**. 14, **2661**. 35, **2663**. 11.
15 Following the *rho* in Καίσαρ is a horizontal smear, then what might be *epsilon* and a long diagonal stroke which one might interpret with a good deal of fantasy as Ἐπείφ.

Translation

Kraterion to Athenodoros, the *dioecete*, many greetings and continual health. If all my affairs turn out well, then I will deem it .... I will not defer another ship to the intervening .... Above all things take care of yourself so that you stay healthy which is our greatest concern. Farewell. Year 23 of Caesar ... 16.

## 2625 Letter

P. 25256 — Herakleopolites
25 x 13 cm. — May 16, 15

Margins: upper 3.3, left 2 cm. *Kolleseis* 1.3 cm. from the left edge and 0.6 cm. from the right. The same hand as **2626**.
Achilles is outspoken in his complaints to Athenodoros about the latter's laziness and neglect, and he cites a number of precedents. However, he concludes his litany with a forceful *aposiopesis*. The real and most compelling reason for writing the letter – undoubtedly the most recent and gravest annoyance resulting from Athenodoros's lackadaisical attitude – is too fragmentary to attempt reconstructing.

'Αχιλλεὺς 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν διὰ παντὸς ὡς
βούλομαι· ἐπεὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμελῶν τῶν φί-
λων οὐ διαλείπεις· μαρτυροῦσι γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ
5 μὴ κομισάμενοι μήτε τὸ ἔλαιον \τὸ Δωρᾶτος/ μήτε
τὸν σ{ε}[ῖ]τον ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὰ πρὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ ε-
[ ± 16 ]λα· περὶ μὲν τούτων
ἡσυχάζω· σὺ γὰρ φασ.[.].[ ± 13 ]
μεταμε[ ± 10 ] ἐμοὶ ἐγράφη ὁ με-
10 ταλαβὼν ἐξεν[εγκεῖν]. ἐπὶ τῆς αὐθ̣α-
δίας λ{ε}ίαν δὲ ε[ ± 6 ]. εἰς ἡμᾶς ταυ.[..]
διαπεπραχθέν̣[τα ....]ε ἀφ' ὧν εχ[.].ε..
ἐν τῆι φασ[]ιππ̣[ ± 5 ]......σεαπ̣[....]
λ̣ο̣φ̣.επα.ωμ[ ].....ε διαμε[μ]ίσ-
15 θωκε̣ κ....ς ἀποχ..[ ].....σ̣ὺ̣ν̣ τ̣ῶ̣[ι]
τε[τ]ά̣ρτωι ἀποκαταστῆσαι Τρύφωνι τῶι
ἀδελφῷ τὰ ἐκφόρια κατ...... μ̣ίσθω-
σιν· ἀνάδος· οὐ γὰρ ἦ̣ν εὔ̣λογον ἡμᾶς ἁλίσκεσ-
θαι ὑπό σου· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βίωι· οὐκ ἠθέλησα δὲ
20 .σ....τι.[.].[....]αι ἵνα μὴ μέμψῃ εἰ



[± 6 κοι]νωνοὺς ἐμοὶ ἔγραψας· μὴ οὖν̣
[ἄλλως ποιή]σῃς· καὶ σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγι-
[αί]νῃς·
ἔρρω(σο)· (ἔτους) ιε Και\σ/(αρος) Παχ(ὼν) κᾱ

25 vso: traces
['Α]θηνοδώρῳ

24 ερρ , παχ

10–11 *l.* αὐθαδείας.
17 κατὰ τὴν μίσθωσιν?
19 καὶ ταῦτ': Cf. LSJ *s.v.* οὗτος VIII 2, on this expression.
22–23 καὶ σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ κτλ.: It is quite obvious from this letter that this valediction is nothing more than an empty phrase, devoid of any real heartfelt concern for the recipient's well being or health. It no more committing than any of the similarly worded modern clichés such as the German "*mit freundlichen Grüssen*" or the English "sincerely yours" which are appended to any letter regardless of its contents. Achilleus's whole missive consists of nothing but the most vehement reproach of Athenodoros's mishandling of various situations, and it is apparent that he could not care less about Athenodoros's health. Yet decorum and tradition prevent him from concluding his blast of invective with anything else but this time-honored turn of phrase.

Translation

Achilleus to his brother, Athenodoros, greetings and continual health, as I wish. Since you miss no opportunity to neglect your friends – my people can attest to it: they have received neither Doras's oil nor the grain; they have not yet even received those ... from a year ago .... But about these things I shall not speak! For you say (?) .... The one who got the message says he has expedited it. This is surely exceedingly stubborn behavior towards us (?) ... to deliver the rent along with the quarter (-amount) to Tryphon, my brother, according to the rent contract. Send it up. For it was not right for us to have been apprehended by you. That such a thing should happen in (our) lifetime! .... Do not act contrary to this. Take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 15 of Caesar, Pachon 21. Vso: To Athenodoros.

## 2626 Letter

P. 25272 — Herakleopolites
29.5 x 22 cm. — after 5/4

Margins: upper 1.5, left 3 cm. *Kolleseis*: 1.5 cm. from the right and another 16 cm. to the left of that one. The page is probably complete except for damage in the middle and maybe one or two lines at the most missing from the bottom. Verso blank.

The following five papyri, **2626–2630**, and **2652** constitute the correspondence of Eurylochos with Athenodoros.

In this letter Eurylochos reports to Athenodoros on various financial matters involving money and goods. He quotes from a letter, perhaps written by Dorion, the royal scribe in the 17th year of Augustus (lines 5–21). In the succeeding lines there is mention of deliveries and payments ranging over a period of nine years, up to Augustus's 26th year (l. 34). Various officials seem to have availed themselves of public funds over the course of these nine years. Whether this dipping into the public treasury was an act of blatant and willful self-aggrandizement – fleecing the treasury in order to line their own pockets – or an act motivated by desperation (were the officials obliged to avail themselves of public funds for their own outstanding salaries?) is not clear from the context. These details and others remain frustratingly incomplete and their interpretation hopelessly obscure.

Col. I

35 Ἀσκληπιάδου διαλήψεται εμε.[....] Πτολεμαίωι
γραμματεῖ π̣υ̣ρ̣\ο/(ῦ) Σν καὶ ἀρ(γυρίου)(δραχ.) υ, περὶ ὧν ἐκ τούτων
δεήσει.
δοθε..... ἐπισκεπ ⟨τ⟩όμενος τὸν βίον· τὸ ἥμισυ μέρος παντὸς
τοῦ ἄ̣λ̣λ̣ο̣υ̣ ἡγουμένου.

1 Εὐρύλοχος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν
καὶ ἐρρωμένῳ διευτυχεῖν· τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
καὶ αὐτῶν παρ' ἡμῶν προσκαρτερέντων Ἀφ⟨ε⟩ῖ
ἀπεξέλθων ἀπελυσ.. αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν χ̣ώ̣ρ̣α̣ν̣·
5 τῇ̣[ς Δωρί]ω̣νος ἐπιστολῆς ἐλθούσης περὶ τοῦ
..[.....]ν̣α̣ξ̣ο̣υ̣ ἀνέρχεσθαί σου γράψαντος ἐ̣⟨ξ⟩αφίνης
[...]... παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐδέποτε ..εν

traces of 12 lines

20 τονε traces ου καὶ δεῖ ανα.[
ἐπιμέλου δὲ καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίν[ῃς· ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους)] ιζ Καίσαρος
Με\χ/(εὶρ) ⁻.
⟨ἀνα⟩γνοὺς ἐπιστολὴν̣ τ̣α̣ύ̣την ἔκθες ἵνα̣ ... Ἀσκλη-
πιάδου λιθοκρούστου τὴν ἐνγηαλλιούσ̣αις
κεχ⟨ε⟩ιρισμ̣έ̣ν̣ο̣ι̣ς̣ προστάταις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ γεγο-
25 νόσι. συνεπίσχυε Ῥουφίωνι ἀπαιτοῦντι ὡς
τοῦ̣τ̣ο̣ν̣ [.....]μένου μοι. πρὸς σεαυτὸν δὲ ἐν
.[ ]αι πρ̣ό̣ς σε ἐκ τριῶν τριωβόλου



ἀ̣[ν]α̣μ̣ι̣μ̣νοῦντες συνέταξες .... [........]
δοθῆναι αὐτοῖς τοῦ κδ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος Ἡρακλεο-
30 πολείτου Ἀθηνοδώρῳ πυροῦ ⟨ἀρτάβας⟩ φ, οἴνου ἡμικάδι\α/ ρ̣,
ἐρίων μαλακῶν πόκοι ρ, Ἀρσινοείτου δραχ(μῶν) 'Γ.
Δωρίων ὑπέγραψε. οἱ προκείμενοι οἰκονόμοι ἀνε-
νηνόχασι ἑαυτοῖς καὶ γραμματεῦσ[ι τὰ] προκείμενα
κεφάλαια ἀπὸ τοῦ ιζ (ἔτους) ἕως τοῦ κς̣ (ἔτους) [....] καὶ ἐν τῆι
---------------------------

Col. II

39 γεωμέτρῃ π̣υ̣ρ̣\ο/(ῦ) λ
40 ἐπισκέπτῃ π̣υ̣ρ̣\ο/(ῦ) Σν
(γίν.) πυρ\ο/(ῦ) Σπ
Δωρίωνα δεῖ δοθῆναι
....ειλ.. ἐν τῇ τοῦ
γραμματέως συντάξει
45 καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνων δέον
ἐπισκεπε..[..]..
τούτοις καθ' ἕκαστον
ὑπέγραψα σε ....
.....[
50 υπαμη[
Ῥουφίων ....[
[
[
[
55 .....

29 *et passim* L = (ἔτους) 31 δρα͞χ 36 α͞ρ (ʃ 41 / = (γίνονται)

1 Εὐρύλοχος: Cf. **2626–2630**, and **2652**.
1–2 Typical of Eurylochos's correspondence with Athenodoros is this salutation which recurs in each and every letter sent by him. Cf. **2616**.1–2.
4 ἀπεξέλθων: Apparently a neologism.
21 [(ἔτους)] ιζ Καίσαρος Με\χ/(εὶρ) ⁻. = Jan./Feb. 13 B.C.
23 λιθοκρούστου: *addendum lexicis*; "stone cutter". If this letter is to be posted publicly, as the wording in l. 22 seems to imply, Asklepiades might be involved in making a copy of it in stone.
*l.* ἐγγυαλλιούσαις?
24 προστάταις: Cf. **2653**.3 n.
31 Ἀρσινοείτου δραχ(μῶν): See on "Arsinoite drachmas" J. de Rougé, Monnaies des nomes de l'Egypte, Paris 1873.

32 Δωρίων: Attested in the same office in **2595**.1,7 (15/14 B.C.), **2596** (13/12 B.C.).
32–33 ἀνενηνόχασι ἑαυτοῖς: The wording might imply large-scale and long-term collusion and self-aggrandizement involving a whole ring of corrupt petty government officials.
35 Ἀσκληπιάδου: the same in l. 22?
36 The same amount, 250 (artabs?) of wheat (?), appears here and in l. 40. The abbreviation is not at all legible. Only the supralinear *omicron* is certain. For hundreds of years convenient symbols were in widespread use. It is odd that the scribe did not use a πυρός-symbol but instead wrote out most of the word.

Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, many greetings and continued health. Since our subordinates were waiting for Aphieus, on the ninth day having departed (I ?) released them to go into the countryside. Dorion's (?) letter about the ... having arrived ... (l. 21) Take care of yourself so you stay healthy. (Farewell. Year) 17 of Caesar, Mecheir .... After you have read this letter, post it up so that ... Asklepiades, the stone cutter, ... for the present and past administrating *prostatai*. Please assist Ruphion in his inquiry into ... (l. 29) be given to them for the 24th year of Caesar from (the) Herakleopolite (nome): to Athenodoros 500 (artabs) of wheat, 100 *hemikadia* of wine, 100 fleeces of soft wool, 3,000 Arsinoite drachmas. Dorion has countersigned it. The afore-mentioned *oikonomoi* have paid the aforementioned sums to themselves and to scribes from the 17th year up to the 26th year .... (l. 35) to Ptolemaios, the scribe, 250 (artabs) of wheat and 400 silver drachmas, concerning which it will be necessary to have (given?) from them, having examined his life. Half of everything belongs to the other leader .... (l. 39) To the surveyor: 30 (art.) of wheat; to the *epistates*: 250 (art.) of wheat. Total: 280 (art.) of wheat. It is necessary that Dorion have given ... in the scribe's payment ...

## 2627 Letter

P. 25392 — Herakleopolites
17.5 x 10 cm. — July/Aug. 2

Margins: upper 3.2, left 1.5–2.5, right 0.5, lower 2.8 cm. Eurylochos writes to Athenodoros about various shipping matters.

Εὐρύλοχος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλ-
τ̣ά̣τ̣ω̣ι̣ χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένωι
[διευτυ]χεῖν· ἐὰν δύνῃ βοηθε̣ῖ̣[ν]
[......]ωρα πλοίῳ παρακλη-
5 θ[εὶς] μὴ ἀποστείλῃ· ἐγὼ δὲ
τῆι κ̅θ ἐξαντλήσας ἔρχο-
μαι πρός σε· ἐὰν δὲ ἡμ[ᾶς] δ]υ-
νῃ εὐεργετῆσαι ἢ ἁλισ[ί]διον



ἢ νεώτερον [ π]έμψασ-
10 θαί μοι· σοὶ δώσ\ω / εἰ ναυλομαι
εἰς Μέμφιν· μ[ὴ] καταστή-
σει λίαν ἐπειγόμενον· ἐπι-
μέ\λ/(ου) δὲ σε\α/⟨υ⟩(τοῦ) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς)· ἔρ⟨ρ⟩\ω/(σο)
(ἔτους) κ̣η Καίσαρος {ς}
15 Μεσ[ορὴ] .

vso: Ἀθη[νοδώρ]ω̣ι τῶι φιλτά(τωι)

13 υ|+

4 [σκιόπρ]ω̣α: Cf. PSI V 533.19.
8 *l.* ἁλυσίδιον.
10 *l.* ναυλῶμαι.
11–12 *l.* οὐ μὴ καταστήσει (future middle) or else μὴ καταστήσῃς.

Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, greetings and continued health. If you are willing to help, do not send (awnings?) for the ship as you were requested. For I am coming to you after I have drained off (the water). If you want to do us a favor, then send me either a chain or a newer .... I will return it to you, if I can rent a ship to Memphis. You need not rush. Take care of yourself, so that you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 28 of Caesar, Mesore .... Vso: To Athenodoros, the most beloved friend.

## 2628 Letter

P. 25281 — Herakleopolites
22.6 x 10.8 cm.

Margins: upper 3, lower 7.5, left 2 cm. Eurylochos writes to Athenodoros about a house which has apparently been vacated.

Εὐρύλοχος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τι̑ φιλτάτωι χαί-
ρειν καὶ ἐρρωμένῳ διευτύχειν· τὴν περὶ
τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ κ̣[λε]ῖδα{ν̣} ἐπιστολὴν συνεσφράγισμαί
σοι· Σω̣κρά̣[τ]η̣ς δὲ λέγε̣ται εἰς καταφ̣...
5 τὸν σήμερ[ον] traces [ ]ρεξέχομαι
οὖν̣ ἵνα {τὸ} κατὰ τὸ μὴ ὀχληθῆναι
τ̣ὴ̣ν̣ οἰκίαν ἀσφαλίσωμαι· ὁ γὰρ α...ω̣

traces καθ᾽ ὑπερβόλην λε-
γ̣ε̣[ ].....[ ὑπολ]ελογηκέναι
10 η̣[ ]ι Σωκρα-
τ[ ].
π[ ]..
[ ]
[ ]
15 [ ]..ρω̣ιαν–
[ ]....... δ᾽ ἐπι(μέλου) ἵν᾽ ὑγι(αίνῃς)
]. Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ θ̄

vso: ] Ἀθ[η]νοδωρω[ι] τῶι φιλτάτωι

16 [illegible],υϯ

3 συνεσφράγισμαι: Olsson 2.3 n. discusses the practice of sealing letters.
4 Σωκρά̣[τ]ης: Is this the Sokrates, *stator*, attested in **2618**.11?
5 ὑπε]ρ̣εξέχομαι?: No such verbal compound is attested. The relationship of this verb with the ensuing purpose clause is not at all clear.
15 ὑ]π̣ε̣ρῷιαν?, ]π̣ε̣ρκ̣ιαν?

Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, greetings and continued health. I have sealed for you the letter about the key. Sokrates is said to have … today. I am therefore making myself conspicuous (?) so that I may lock up the house in order not to be bothered …. Vso: To Athenodoros, the most beloved friend.

## 2629 Letter

P. 25259 Herakleopolites
25.2 x 14.5 cm. June 6, 4

Margins: upper 3.7, lower 1, left 2.5–3 cm. *Kollesis* almost on the right edge. The same hand as **2630**.

Eurylochos complains to Athenodoros that he has been expecting a letter about some knives, but certain people, otherwise known only to these two correspondents, have been doing their best to prevent its being written and sent, although the prefect himself has ordered it be done. Having vented his spleen on this matter, Eurylochos abruptly changes the subject and divagates for the rest of the letter about a more weighty topic: corruption among the shepherds. Horos, the head of the shepherds, who has been grilled by Eurylochos, claims it is pure extortion to expect him to pay the tax on sheep from four years ago. Eurylochos tells Atheno-



doros he is willing to go ahead and exact taxes. Since Eurylochos has already rounded up some money and shearings from the delinquent shepherd, all is not lost.

Also under fire from Eurylochos is the scribe (of the shepherds' organization?) probably for misrepresenting his group's financial status. Although the scribe is obviously guilty of falsifying the records, he nonetheless staunchly protests his innocence, claiming that a statement he made on a previous occasion has been misinterpreted and used against him. However, Eurylochos has prevailed and forced the scribe to give a truthful statement.

The matter does not end here. Alongside the corruption and mismanagement of funds, physical violence has also taken place. A certain Soterichos has been attacked. Eurylochos is going to go see him – probably to question him about the affair. He will send the man to Athenodoros along with a group of shepherds who have sworn to settle the issue correctly. The rest of the missive is obscure. Eurylochos returns briefly to the matter of the long-awaited letter about the knives as well as other letters sent to Athenodoros from abroad. In the final sentence a poet and a *strategos* are mentioned.

Εὐρύλοχος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν
καὶ ἐρρωμένωι διευτυχεῖν· ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως
ἀναστραφέντες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐνεπόδισαν τὴν
περὶ τῶν μαχαιρῶν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐπιτετα-
5 χότος τοῦ ἡ[γε]μόνος γράψαι πολλαῖς ὅδοις χρησά-
μενοι πλὴν ἐ̣ν τύπωι γέγονε· λοιπόν ἐστι χα-
ραχθῆναι· ⸂Ὧρος \ὁ προστάτης τῶν προβάτω(ν)/ τῆι ιβ̄ ὤφθη μοι ἀχθὲν ὑπὸ
Τη̣λ̣[.]φωνᾶτος πρός με φάσκων συκοφαντίαν εἶ-
ναι τὴν τῶν ἀρνῶν τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) Καίσ̣α̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣ ἐξ αὐτο̣ῦ̣
10 [..].......ρ̣.φέναι μήτε περι̣.[...].. τ̣ὸ̣ ἀργυρι-
κόν· ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ θέλει με πρᾶξαι ει̣ς̣ αὐ̣[τ]ὸν π̣ρ̣[. ἐὰ]ν̣ δ̣ὲ
μὴ ἔλαβόν τι καὶ τοὺς ποκισμοὺς απακτ...( )
τῶν καὶ πάντων δὲ ἐξ α(ὐτοῦ) πόκου κολλαμοι μηδ̣[ε-]
νὸς ἄλλου τοῦτο ποιοῦντος κτηνοτροόφου· ὑπ᾽ ἐμ̣[ο]ῦ̣
15 οὖν ἐξελεγχθεὶς ὡς ἀδικεῖ μόγις ὁμολογεῖ γραμ-
ματέως ἀγνοηθ̣ῆναι τὸ πρότερον φάσκων μη-
δ᾽ αὐ̣τοῦ εἶναι τὸν λόγον πλήν, ὡς ἔδει, παρρησίασ-
σθαι ἐποίησα· εἰς αὔριον δὲ ἔχομεν πρὸς Σωτήρι-
χ[ον] ἔλθειν ἐπεὶ βάλλεταί τινα ἐπ᾽ αυ̣τόν· ὡς ἂν δ[ὲ]
20 γενόμεθα ἐκεῖ ἀναπέμψω σοι αὐτὸν κτηνοτρό-
φου̣ς̣ ληψόμενον ὀμνύοντας δικαίως κρίνειν
π.[.]α̣σ̣α̣ρ̣η̣. ε̣ἰ παχομερῶς ἐπιθολῶσαι θέλων ὦ
διάσεισμα διδούς· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὴ κριθείη εἰδὼ̣ς̣

τὴν δικαιον διάθεσιν οὐκ ὑπέχομαι· εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τ[ῶν]
25 τόπων πρὸς τὸν ὑπό σου προχειρισθέντα παρα-
κριθήσεται. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγὼ παρακεκόμ[ικα·]
οὐκ ἐῶμαι δοῦναι ἕως ἡ περὶ τῶν μαχαιρῶν̣
π̣.[..] τὰς ἔξωθ̣ε̣ν̣ π̣ε[μφ]θείσας σοι ἐπιστολὰς ε[.]
φι̣[.]. διὰ τῆς π[...] Σελεύκου τοῦ Πτολλᾶτος [...]
30 κου υἱοῦ διὰ τ̣[οῦ π]οιητοῦ καὶ ἐμὴν καὶ τῶι στρ̣[ατη-]
γῶι ἃς Λαομέδων δέδωκε· ἐπιμέ(λου) σεα⟨υ⟩(του) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς)·
ἔρρω(σο)· (ἔτους) κς Καίσαρος Παῦνι ιβ̄

vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι.

2 ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως: Although the adjective is well attested, this seems to be the first occurrence of the adverb.
2–3 ἀνοικονομ[ή]τως ἀναστραφέντες: This construction with an adverb + ἀναστρέφω is common in honorary decrees on stone or papyrus; cf. SIG (4th ed.) Bd. IV: Indices, *s.vv.* ἀναστροφή, ἀναστρέφομαι; SB V 8267.30–31: μεγαλοπόρως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀναστραφ⟨ε⟩ίς; OGIS I 234.16–17: καλῶς καὶ ἀξίως ... ἀνέστρεπται; Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (Bd. 16): Die Inschriften von Ephesos 2071.17–19: ἐπιδεικνύμενος ... τὴν τοῦ βίου κόσμιον ἀναστροφήν; C.B. Welles, Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period, New Haven 1934, repr. Rome 1966, 312–313; A. Deissmann, Licht vom Osten, Tübingen 1923 (4th ed.), 264–265.
5 The prefect is probably Gaius Tyrannius; see **2605**.1 n.
6 ἐ̣ν τύπωι: LSJ *s.v.* VIII 2 cites examples of this expression.
7 προστάτης τῶν προβάτω(ν): Cf. **2586**.4–5; P. Ryl. 183.1, 183a.1.
*l.* ἀχθείς or ἀχθῆναι.
8 Τηλ̣[ε]φωνᾶτος?: Cf. Pape: Τηλεφῶν.
9 A substantive is missing after τήν. Normally, the tax on livestock is called φόρος. Hence, one would expect the masculine definite article. Whatever the noun in question here might have been, apparently Horos is complaining about being assessed (again?) for the sheep-tax for the 22nd year of Caesar, calling it extortion.
11 *l.* θέλεις?
π̣ρ̣[άξω: Rather long for the lacuna.
12 ποκισμούς: The word also appears in PSI 233.23.
13 Pap. εξαL: ἐξ ἄ(λλου)?, ἐξ α(ὐτοῦ)?
κολλαμοι: Either a new word or a misspelling of a known one?
15–16 *l.* γραμματεύς: Cf. P. Ryl. 183.10 n. for parallels and bibliography.
19 *l.* ἐπεὶ ἐπιβάλλεταί τις.
ὡς ἄν: Olsson 7.13 n. cites parallels.
20 *l.* γενώμεθα.
Interesting is the implication that the shepherds are being called in to pass judgement on one of their own class. S. Allam in: Life 1–8 discusses instances of private arbitration in late Byzantine Egypt and cites relevant literature.
24 *l.* δικαίαν.
25 προχειρισθέντα: WB III, Abt. 8, lists other instances.
29 Σελεύκου τοῦ Πτολλᾶτος: Both Seleukos and Ptollas are common names in the Athenodoros archive, but there is no guarantee that any of them can be identified with this Seleukos or this Ptollas.



Translation

Eurylochos to Athenodoros, his most beloved friend, greetings and continued health. Behaving in an unorganized manner they have until now hindered the letter about the knives. Although the prefect ordered (them) to write it, they have employed many ways; however, it was in draft. It only remains that it be written. Horos, the supervisor of the sheep, was seen by me as he was led in on the 12th by Telephonas (?), stating to me that it is extortion to demand from him the ... (tax?) on sheep for the 22nd year of Caesar ... the money-tax. But if you wish me to exact payment on him (?), I shall do it (?). If not, then I have taken (at least) something and the shearings ... while no other herder does this. Having therefore been convicted of wrongdoing by me, (the) scribe scarcely admits an oversight, claiming earlier that this was not his statement. But, since it was necessary, I have made him speak openly.
Tomorrow we have to go to Soterichos, since someone attacked him. Whenever we are there I shall send him up to you to bring shepherds who swear they will judge justly ... if I, wishing to rough (him?, them?) up, make extortion. Unless he should be convicted of knowing the proper account of things, I cannot be taken to account – unless he will be falsely judged here before the one appointed by you.
I have received the letter. I will not allow it to be given until the (letter) about the knives (arrives?) ... the letters sent you from abroad ... Seleukos, son of Ptollas, ... son, because of the poet and my (letter?) and the ones which Laomedon gave to the *strategos*. Farewell. Year 26 of Caesar, Payni 12. Vso: To Athenodoros, the most beloved friend.

## 2630 Letter

P. 16954 + 25264 Herakleopolites
22 x 13 cm. Dec. 21, 10

Margins: upper: 3.5 cm., lower: 2–3, right: negligible, left: 2 cm. A vertical *kollesis* runs a few millimeters from the right edge. At line 2 and continuing through lines 3 and 4, it makes a sharp angle to the left. Large holes in the upper fragment (P. 25264: Z. 1–8) have rendered most of the context meaningless. The lower fragment (P.16954: Z. 9ff.), on the other hand, is comparatively well preserved, although it too has suffered occasional lost of text. The same scribe responsible for writing this letter also wrote **2629**. His style of writing is a peculiarly individual one, notable both for its paleographical and orthographical forms. He rarely misses an occasion to confuse *iota* with *epsilon-iota* and *vice versa*. Verso blank.
Eurylochos writes to Athenodoros about two different matters: the first has to do with 80 drachmas about which there was evidently some initial confusion – but now everything seems to have been settled. The second matter involves grain transport.

Εὐρύλ̣οχος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν καὶ
ἐρρωμένωι διευτυχεῖν. τῆι ῑγ Κόνων παρεκόμι-
σε ἃς ἔγραψας δ̣ι̣δ̣[όναι] τῶι δούλ̣[ω]ι̣ δραχμ̣ὰς ὀκτακοσίας
ἕνα. [ε]ὑρέθη̣ τοῦ δ[...]ονος παραδοκιμάζοντ̣[αί] μοι
5 επ̣α̣[.]. χαλκο[ῦ ± 5] .ω προσθεὶς τῆι ἐχομένηι τῶι Ἀ-
νικήτωι ἀπέδωκα Παρθενίου παρόντος πλήρεις τὰς
ὀκτακοσίας. λαλεῖται τὸν ἀνάπλουν ἕως κ̅ε̅ ἕτε-
ρ̣ο̣ς .ε......[ ].τταται οἱ πο...φορ...
γράψον Δ[ι]ω̣γ̣ᾶ̣τ̣ι̣ τῶι ἀδελφῶι ἵνα ἐν γαν̣.χ̣αις
10 ..[......]ε̣πλοισυ (πυροῦ) ρν ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ ἐπέσταλκας αὐτοῦ
(πυροῦ) Ἀυν, ἵνα σχῇ̣ς τὰς ἐν Βουσίρ⟨ε⟩ι (πυροῦ)(ἀρτάβας) ..ι, πᾶσά ἐστιν
κ traces μὴ γράψῃ̣ς καὶ μὴ [ ± 8 ]
ἀποστείλῃ̣ς εἰς τὸν Τρωίτην σὺ⟨ν⟩ ταῖς ἐσφραγ{ε}ισ-
μέναι[ς] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνπόρων πλὴν Ἰ̣. ἔσ̣[τιν]
15 γὰρ ἐν Τανχάι μὴ δυνόμενα ἐνβληθ̣ῆ̣ναι ἐπὶ τοῦ νῦν.
τὰ δ' ἄλ⟨λ⟩α σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγ{ε}ιαίνῃς, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον
ἡγοῦμαι. ἔρρ(ωσο). (ἔτους) κα̣ Καίσαρος Χοιὰ[.]κ κε

μὴ κατάσχης οὖν τὸ ἐπ{ε}ίσταλμα τῶν π{ε}ι̣τ̣ακ{ε}ίων
Ἀρσιν(οειτ-).

1 φιλτάτῳ: See Zilliacus, Anredeformen 32ff., on this form of salutation.
4 παραδοκιμάζοντ[αι]: *addendum lexicis.*
5 τῆι ἐχομένηι *scil.* ἡμέρα̣
9 A possible, yet not entirely satisfactory, reading might be ἐν γαλήναις.
11 On wheat see: N. Jasny, The Wheats of Classical Antiquity, Baltimore 1944, 53ff.; H. Cadell, CdE 48 (1973) 329–338; Battaglia, Artos.
13 Τρωίτην. This toparchy (?) is otherwise known only from **1784**.6 and **1807**.4.
14 *l.* ἐμπόρων.
'I: The papyrus shows a vertical stroke crossed by a horizontal stroke near the top.
15 Τανχάι: A village in the Herakleopolites (cf. **1778**, *et passim;* **2438**.71; Sijpesteijn, CdE 56 [1981] 103; Falivene 204).
16 *l.* ἐμβληθῆναι: Cf. A. Meyer-Termeer, Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht, Zutphen 1978, 77.
*l.* δυνάμενα.
17 Pap. ερρ-
18 *l.* πιττακίων: Given the multifarious meanings of the word, it is difficult to decide which one is applicable here. Cf. T. Kalén, P. Berl. Leihg., p. 211. In oracle questions: P. Oxy. 1150 = PGM 8b.

Translation

Eurylochos to his very dear Athenodoros, greetings and continued prosperity! Konon received a letter on the 13th where you write that he should give the slave eighty drachmas .... (l. 5f.) The next day in the presence of Parthenion I gave Aniketos the eighty drachmas *in toto*. It is said that by the 25th the trip up ... (l. 9f.)



Write to Diogas (our) brother (= colleague), so he can peacefully (?) ... 150 artabs of wheat, since you have sent his 1,450 (artabs) of wheat, so that you have in Busiris ... artabs of wheat. That makes altogether ... you send to Troites together with the (artabs?) sealed by the merchants except for the 10,000 (artabs?). For the ones in Tanchais have not been able to be loaded up until now. Moreover, be careful to take care of yourself so that you stay in good health which I consider of utmost importance. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Choiak 25.
You should not impede the order for the *pittakia* to Arsinoe.

## 2631 Letter

P.16898 + 25265 Herakleopolites
21.5 x 10.5 cm March 2, 9

Margins: upper: 2.5 cm., lower: 1.5, left: 1 cm., right: negligible. Apart from an occasional hole and a few places where the writing has rubbed off, both fragments are in good condition. The script is the same as on **2628**, **2657** and others. P. Berol. inv. 16898 = lines 1–6, 22; 25265 = lines 7–21.
Pappos writes concerning various matters, official and private, to Athenodoros. Most intriguing in this letter is the mention of the arrival of a certain Gallus, possibly the prefect of Egypt (who was heretofore unknown) at Memphis, probably during his annual inspection tour of Egypt, the *conventus*.

Πάππος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι θε⟨ι⟩οτάτῳ
διοικητῆι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παν-
τὸς διευτυχεῖν ἄριστ' ἐπανάγειν. ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ πα-
ρ̣αποδ{ε}ίσθην εἰς Μέμφιν γενέσθαι χάριν
5 ἱματίων διὰ τὴν παράστασιν Γάλλου πέ-
πομφα Ἀσκλάπωνα ὅπως ..... ἀν-
[έ]β̣ηι· ἐὰν {σ} οὖν σοι φαίνηται εὐθέως
ἀ̣νάνκασον ἐξορμῆσαι ἵνα {.} αὐτὸς
[μὴ] παραποδείσθω· ἐκδέχομαι παρ' αὐτὸν
10 [ἕ]ξ̣· Ἀ̣σ̣κ̣λ̣ά̣π̣ω̣ν̣ δ̣έ̣ μ̣ο̣ι̣ σ̣υ̣μ̣β̣ο̣ύ̣λ̣ε̣υ̣σ̣ε̣ ε̣υ̣κ̣λ̣..
συνήγορον παραστῆσαι· ἄτερ οὖν τῆς
σ̣[ο] υ̣ γνωμῆς οὐκ ἐβουλήθην δαπα-
νᾶσθαι· διὸ ἐάν σοι φαίνηται, σήμανον.
πέπομφα{ι} δέ σοι τὴν καταγραφήν τοῦ
15 ἐν ἁλυ χωρίου καὶ τὸν τοῦ βασιλι\κ/(οῦ) γραμμ\ατέ(ως)/
σχοινισ̣μ̣[ό]ν· ἐπιχρονίζω ἐκτὸς τῶν
[χρό]ν̣ω̣ν. ἐάν σοι φαίνηται δι' ἡμερῶν
.λ[.]τος πέμπψον ὀψαρίδια. τὰ δ' ἄλ⟨λ⟩α ἐ⟨πιμέ⟩λου

[σε]α̣[υ]τ̣οῦ ιν᾽ ὑγιαίνῃς, ὃ δὴ μέγιστον
20 [ηγοῦ]μ(αι). ἔρρωσο

(ἔτους) κ̣α Καίσαρ[ο]ς Φαμεν(ὼθ) ς

vso: Ἀθ]η̣νοδώρωι̣ τῶι διοικητῆι

1 θε⟨ι⟩οτάτῳ: Cf. **2600.**3 n., **2660**.1.
3 Cf. **2614**.3 n.
4–5 The requisitioning of clothes in preparation for the arrival of a personage with a Latin name apparently at Memphis has all the earmarks of a prefectural visit, perhaps on the occasion of the *conventus*. Is this Gallus perhaps the prefect? Between the offices of P. Rubrius Barbarus and C. Tyrannius – that is between 12 and 7 B.C. – no prefect has yet been attested (see G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 [1975] 268). The date of this letter in March – which falls directly in the time - span allotted for the prefectural visit at Memphis – increases the likelihood that this Gallus was conducting his annual inspection tour of middle Egypt, for which the clothes mentioned in this letter had been requisitioned. For literature on the *conventus* see N. Lewis, BASP 19 (1981) 119.
5 παράστασιν: Cf. P. Oxy. 2139.2 n., where this word appears in the papyri for the first time in a similar context.
8 *l.* ἀνάγκασον.
11 ἄτερ : Cf. B. McGing, P. Dublin, p. 92.
13 σήμανον: Parallels are cited in Olsson, 8.20f. and P. Merton II 62.10–12 n.
15 *l.* ἐν ἁλί. Cf. D. Bonneau, "La terre saline (*halmyris*) en Egypte d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque", in: Congr. 19.
15 Pap. γραμμ\ατε-/
19 ὃ δὴ μέγιστον: Cf. **2622**.24 n.
20, 21 The abbreviations in these lines are too faint and vague to be reproduced with any fidelity.

Translation

Pappos to Athenodoros the most divine *dioecete*, many greetings and continual health and prosperity. Since I have been hindered from coming to Memphis for the clothes for Gallus's advent, I have sent Asklapon so that ... he comes up. If it please you, make him set out immediately so that I myself may not be impeded. I am receiving from him six (*himatia*). Asklapon has advised me that ... lawyer is arriving. Therefore I did not want to incur any expenses without your knowledge. If it please you, tell (me what to do). I have sent you the register of the land damaged by salt and the royal scribe's survey report. I am holding out (?) beyond the time limits (?). If it please you, after several days ... send pickled fish. Otherwise, take care of yourself so that you stay healthy which is my greatest concern. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Phamenoth 6. Vso: To Athenodoros, the *dioecete*.



## 2632 Letter

P. 25270 — Herakleopolites
20.5 x 11.5 cm. — after 8/7

Margins: upper: 4, left 1.5, right: negligible. *Kollesis* 3.5 cm. from the left. Unusual in this letter is the absence of *scriptura continua* and the generally correct separation of the individual words.

Aphrodisios writes Athenodoros about various activities involving wine production. For the different jars and measures mentioned in this letter see R. Fleischer, Measures and Containers in Greek and Roman Egypt, Diss. New York 1956.

Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῷ διοικητῆι
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ̣ [πα]ν̣τὸς τυγχά-
νειν̣ τῶν̣ κατὰ προαίρεσ̣ιν αυτῶν·
ἐπεὶ πολὺς οἶνος ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγ[ομέ]ναι̣ς̣
5 τοῦ κγ (ἔτους) Καίσαρος εἰς Τεχθὼ ἐνή-
νεκται καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ κείμενον
τῆς ῥύσεως τοῦ χωρίου ἀγγ⟨ε⟩ῖον
.[..]μ̣ωι Ἀρσινο{ε}ιτικῶι κεράμι̣α̣
καὶ κόρι ρξβ, οὗ προ̣κεχ̣ώ[ρη-]
10 [.....].ογις εἴ τις τοῖς ἐργάταις
[....] ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἅ ἐστιν
[κερ]αμ\ω/ μ· καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
[ ].[.].εύοντος
--------------------------

vso: Αμμ...
οι.
μαφα[

2–3 τυγχάνειν̣ τῶν̣ κατὰ προαίρεσ̣ιν αυτῶν: This unusual salutation seems to have no parallel in either the Athenodoros archive or the other epistolary papyri.
5 Τεχθώ: Cf. **2434**.13, **2440**.38; J. Kaimio, P. Hels. I 26 introd.
9 κόρι: A unit of measure called the κόρος is attested in PSI VI 554.14 (3rd c. B.C.). In Byzantine papyri a common unit of measure is the κοῦρι (cf. CPR X = Griech. Texte VII 11.3 n.).
12 *l.* [κερ]άμια.

Translation

Aphrodisios to Athenodoros the *dioecete*, many greetings and the continued fulfilment of your wishes. Since much wine was brought to Techtho in the intercalary days of Caesar's 23rd year and the jar at my place containing the harvest of the estate ... in Arsinoite ... 162 *keramia* and *kori*. ... if there is something for the workers ... for me and the children, all told 40 *keramia*. Until now ....

## 2633 Letter

P. 25268 Herakleopolites
12.8 x 14.5 cm.

Margins: upper: 2.4, left 4. *Kollesis* 1 cm. from the left. The import of this letter from Euomenos and Dionysios to Athenodoros is obscure given the loss of text from the right and bottom. At least part of the letter would seem to relate to problems with the irrigation.

Εὐόμενος καὶ Διονύσιος Ἀθηνοδώ[ρωι]
τῶι ἀδελφῶι πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ ὑ[γι(αίνειν)·]
ὑπὲρ ὧν σοι ἐπεγράψαμεν εἰς τὰ [νῦν]
ἡ μερὶ⟨ς⟩ τῶν παιδίων Διονυσίου [....]
5 μετελάβομεν δὲ μεμετεωρισ[μένας]
ρ̣ο̣άς· εἰ οὖν ἔστιν σοι ἀβαρὲς πο[ιῆ-]
σαι αὐτά, καὶ ἐὰν κορμοὺ̣[ς ..]
μ̣ο̣νος ἡμᾶς κατειληφέν[αι· εὖ]
οὖν ποιήση̣ς, διοικητά, μ[ ]
10 [ ] traces [ ]
---------------------------

vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδε\λ/(φῶ̣)

1 Εὐόμενος: *addendum onomasticis*; cf. **2634**.10
5–6 The interpretation of this sentence is problematic. The first two letters in l. 6 are not at all certain, but *rho-omicron* makes at least some sense whereas *rho-alpha* makes none whatsoever.
7–8 ]μ̣ε̣νος? A proper name or noun seems more likely than a participle given the size of the lacuna in the previous line.
6 ἀβαρές: Cf. Olsson 41.26 n., "*gewöhnliche Höflichkeitsphrase*", citing parallels.

### Translation

Euomenos and Dionysios to Athenodoros, their brother, greetings and (good health). Concerning those things which we wrote you, for the (present), some of Dionysios's slaves .... For we have heard that streams have risen (?). If it is no trouble for you to do these things, let us take -mon's sluices. You would therefore do well, *dioecete*, to .... Vso: To Athenodoros, (our) brother.



## 2634 Letter

P. 25269 Herakleopolites
25 x 9 cm.
Margins: upper 3.5, lower 5, right: variable. Written in the same hand as many others in Athenodoros's archive; cf. **2605** introd. Verso blank.
This papyrus leaf appears to contain copies of, or sketches for, two letters: the first addressed to Seleukos, who is known from other letters in the Athenodoros archive; the second to Euomenos and Dionysios, who are known from **2633**. Both letters describe shipments of various comestibles. The letter writer seems to have been concerned about keeping an exact record of the goods shipped – or at least the goods allegedly shipped – to his correspondents.

Σ̣ελεύκω̣ι̣
[μίαν ἐγ μιᾶς ἡμέρας προσδεχό-]
[μενός σε]
πέπομφά σοι δι' Ἑρμᾶτος λευκο̣-
5 μετώπους \γεράνους/ πεντήκοντα, ἀβ̣ρ(αμίδες) δέκα
[.].κ̣ιδων κεράμ[ια] πέντε κορακίν\ου/
ηωνηρους...εφε........
κοντα καὶ μ..νεια πεντήκοντα
ὀρνίθ{ε}ια διακόσια.
10 [Εὐο]μένῳ καὶ Διονυσίωι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς·
[.. πέ]πομφα δι' Ἑρμᾶτος τοὺς Φιλέρω̣τ̣ος
[...ο]υς πόκους πεντήκοντα [ ]
[....]ους πεντήκοντα καὶ ...[ ]
[......] εἴκοσι, πάντες δὲ καλούς.
15 [ ]εν οὖν ἤθελον ἔτι τριάκοντα
[ δ]ι̣α̣σ̣αφιναι ἐπὶ τῶν προβάτων
[ ] ἀσθενεῖν τὰ θρέμματα ἵν'
[...... κ]ατὰ τὴν δύν[αμι]ν τ̣ὰ̣ ἐρε[ίδια]
[ ]..γ̣ηδυμωνο[.].τ̣υχια κείρας.

5 αβρ⁄, 6 -κιν̊

1 Σελεύκω̣ι̣: Undoubtedly the same Seleukos as in **2612** f.
2 *l.* ἐκ.
4, 11 Cf. **2622**.4,17 n.
4–5 λευκο̣μετώπους γεράνους: According to LSJ γέρανος can designate either a bird or a fish. For cranes in Egypt as comestibles see P.F. Houlihan, The Birds of Ancient Egypt, Warminster 1986, 83ff. The photo there of a demoiselle crane in an ancient Egyptian relief would appear to have inspired the description "white-faced". However, the ornithologically more well-versed reader may prefer another identification unknown to me.

5 ἀβ̣ρ̣(αμίδες): According to LSJ *s.v.* this word appears in two London papyri and means "mullet". See D.J. Brewer and R. F. Friedman, Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt, Warminster 1989. Cf. P. Oxy. 2660, 2660a, for names of fishes in Greco-Roman Egypt; and G. Parássoglou, Aegyptus 67 (1987) 89ff.; P. Sijpesteijn, K. Worp, P. Pheretnuis, p. 69, on fisheries.

6 [πε]ρκίδων?, [τ]οκίδων? However, the traces on the papyrus are congruent with neither *rho* nor *omicron*.

8 μ̣η̣κ̣ώνεια? The sole papyrological attestations for this word, if it is correctly read here, were heretofore in the medical texts. Cf. Marganne 234, 319; Steier, "Mohn", RE 15,2, 2433–2445; V. Gazza, Aegyptus 36 (1956) 89; C. Préaux, CdE 31 (1956) 141.1, for examples of opium in medical prescriptions. On opium: J. Scarborough, Jnl. of the History of Biology 11 (1978) 371–372; H. Harrauer and P. Sijpesteijn, Medizinische Texte und Verwandtes (MPER n.S. XIII), Vienna 1981, no. 1.9 n., citing J. André, Lexique des termes de botanique en latin, Paris 1956, 228; Till, no. 106; H. Harrauer, K.A. Worp, ZPE 40 (1980) 139ff. On opium see J. Scarborough in: R. Porter, M. Teich, edd., Drugs and Narcotics in History, Cambridge 1994. Opium derivates are common in Coptic prescriptions for eye ailments (Chassinat 74f.) and still used in present-day pharmaceutical products (Pharmazeutische Stoffliste-List of Pharmaceutical Substances [7.Aufl.], Frankfurt am Main 1988.).
On the problem of identifying ancient plants with their modern counterparts see J. Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs and Roots", in: C. Faraone and D. Obbink, edd., Magika Hiera, Oxford 1990, 163–164, who cautions against citing the all-too-often facile and false designations in LSJ. He strongly advises using instead the Oxford Latin Dictionary; J. André, Les noms des plantes dans la Rome antique, Paris 1985; A. Carnoy, Dictionnaire étymologique des noms grecs de plantes, Louvain 1959 and R. Strömberg, Griechische Pflanzennamen, Göteborg 1940.
In general on medicinal plants in the ancient world see: J. André, Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque, Paris 1958; H. Baumann, Die griechische Pflanzenwelt in Mythos, Kunst und Literatur, Munich 1982; J. Berendes, Die Pharmacie bei den alten Culturvölkern, Halle (Saale) 1891, repr. Hildesheim 1965; Dietrich, Drogenhandel; V. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa, 8. Aufl., Berlin 1911; B. Langkavel, Botanik der späteren Griechen vom dritten bis dreizehnten Jahrhundert, Berlin 1966, repr. Amsterdam 1966; L. Manniche, An Ancient Egyptian Herbal, London 1989; A. Schmidt, Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum, Leipzig 1924, Neudr. New York 1979; Till; E.G. Wheelwright, Medicinal Plants and their History, New York 1974 (2nd ed.); F. Woenig, Die Pflanzen im alten Ägypten, Leipzig 1897.

10 [Εὐο]μένῳ: Cf. **2633**.1.

11 Φιλέρω̣τ̣ο̣ς: Cf. **2661**.8, where the same name appears.

13 τ̣έ̣σ̣[σαρες]?

14 *l.* πάντας.

16 *l.* δι]ασαφῆναι.

18 *l.* ἐρίδια.

19 τ̣ῇ ⟨Δι⟩δύμωνο[ς] ἡ̣σ̣υχίᾳ κείρας?

Translation

To Seleukos. I have sent you through Hermas fifty white-faced cranes, ten mullets, five *keramia* of ..., ... black ..., fifty poppies (?), two hundred chickens.
To Euomenos and Dionysios, my brothers. I have sent through Hermas, Phileros's ... the ... fifty fleeces and fifty other ... fleeces and twenty ..., all good ....



## 2635 Letter

P. 25396 Herakleopolites
18 x 14.5 cm.

Margins: upper 4, right 1.5–2, left 2 cm. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the right. Verso blank. Ischyras reports to Athenodoros about deliveries of wool and oil.

Ἰσχυρᾶς Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφ(ῶι)
[χαί]ρ̣[ειν] καὶ ὑγιαίνειν διὰ παντὸς ὡς
βούλομα[ι]· ἀνέγνων ἃ ἐγεγράφει σε
[ ].ουσ.[ ]ανου εἰς τὰ ἐγβαί-
5 [νοντα ]... διπλασ{ε}ίων ἔ-
[χο]μαι ἐν τοῖς κατά σε· Φιλικὼς δὲ
μελ[ήσε]τ̣αι λ{ε}ίαν τῶι τοὺς παρ' ἐμοῦ
γεγραφηκέναι μὴ κεκόμισθαι τὰ
ἔρια, μηδὲ τὸ ἔλαιό\ν̣/ σ̣ου συντάγῃ
10 [ἔ]ως Παχὼν καὶ Παῦνι· ⟦προ⟧ πρὸ δὲ
[π]άντων τοῦ σώμα[τος σεαυτοῦ ἐπι-]
[μέλου ἵνα κτλ.

---------------------------

1 αδελφ

1 Ἰσχυρᾶς: Cf. **2661**.3

4 *l.* ἐκβαί-

6 *l.* Φιλικῶτι?

Translation

Ischyras to Athenodoros, his brother, greetings and continual health, because I wish it. I have read what he wrote ... Philikos will be very concerned about my agents' having written that they have received neither the wool nor your oil. Demand it by Pachon or Payni! Above all (take care) of your body (so you stay well) ....

## 2636 Letter

P. 25243 Herakleopolites
21 x 10.5 cm.

Margins: upper 2.7, lower 4.4, left 1.5 cm. Verso blank. The same script as on **2605** and many others; see **2605** introd.
Someone writes to Ischyrion reporting that Ischyrion's messenger had looked him up in Herakleopolis and given him a letter. In the letter Ischyrion had requested him to send one of his people who should repay Ischyrion what the anonymous let-

ter writer owes him. The anonymous letter writer does this, although he claims he owes Ischyrion nothing. He closes by asking Ischyrion to send the man back to him posthaste because it is the harvest season, and he needs every person he can get. Given the lack of a concluding salutation and a date – as well as the various obliterations and corrections – this letter is obviously a draft and not the final copy.

Ἰσχυρίωνι τῶι φιλτάτῳ ⟦.....⟧ χαίρ[ειν καὶ]
διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν· γενόμενος ἐν
Ἡρακλέους πόλει \τῇ ζ̄/ ἐδεξάμην περά τινος
τῶν σῶν ⟦επιστ⟧ παρά σου ἐπιστολὴν [ἐν ᾗ]
5 ἐσήμαινες πέμψαι τινὰ̣ τῶν ἐμῶν, ὃ̣ς
ἐπιγν\ώσεται τὸ/ ⟦ους το⟧ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐκτιθέμενον
κεφά{λ}λαιον· εὐθέως οὖν Διογένην τὸν
ἐμὸν φίλον ἔπεμψα \πρός σε/· σύνοιδα δὲ ἐμα⟨υ⟩τῷ
καλῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτου ⟦...⟧
10 ..[.]...ς ἀπούσης ὀφείλω οὐδὲ ἕν· σὺ δὲ
φίλτατε ἐρωτηθεὶς γράφε ἡμεῖν ὑπὲρ
ὧ̣ν ἐὰν αἱρῇις παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ δύνα-
μιν ἐσομένου· ὀρθῶς δὲ χρήσῃ τὸν Διογέν\η/(ν)
μοι ταχύτερον ἀπολύσας· ⟦δια τ̣ο̣⟧ προσδέομα̣[ι]
15 [.]⟦....⟧ \γὰρ/ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα διὰ τὸν τῆς
[συγ]κομιδῆς τῶν γενημάτων καιρόν·
[...]νως οὖν ἐπί⟦τασ⟧στειλε ἵνα κ'αὐτὸ[ς]
[δύ]νωμαι γράφειν ⟦ὑμεῖν⟧.

3 *l.* παρά.
10 οὐδὲ ἕν: Cf. **1078** = Olsson no. 29 = Wilcken, Chrest. I 59: μηδὲ ἕν; P. Oxy. XIV 1668.19: οὐδὲ εἷς; Blass-Debrunner §302.
11–12 Cf. P. Oxy. IV 787 = Olsson no. 16: [σ]ὺ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐὰν αἱρῇ γράφε; P. Merton II 62.11 and Olsson 8.20ff. n., where other parallels are listed.
12 *l.* ἄν.
13–14 Cf. P. Oxy. 3505. 17–18: εὐθέως δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν Δίδυμον ἀπόλυσον.

Translation

Ischyrion to his best friend, greetings and continual health. While I was in Herakleopolis on the 6th I received from one of your people the letter (in which) you informed me that I should send one of my men who would acknowledge the sum of money granted to me. I have therefore sent quickly to you my friend Diogenes. I am quite aware that in the Aphroditopolite (nome) ... being absent, I owe nothing at all. Since you have been asked, my friend, write us about whatever you want, and everything will be for the good. You will do well to release Diogenes to me quickly. I need him here, because it is the season for bringing in the harvest ... therefore send him, so I myself can write.



## 2637 Letter

P. 25262 — Herakleopolites
25.5 x 19.8 cm. — 3/2

Margins: left 3.5, upper 4.3, right 1.5–2, lower 4.5 cm. *Kollesis* 10 cm. from the left. Sarapion writes to Athenodoros, the *epistates*. Because of the papyrus's poor condition little can be gleaned from the few coherent words.

Σαραπίων Ἀθηνοδώρ[ωι] πλεῖστα χαίρειν
καὶ ὑγιαίνειν· ἀναγκαῖο̣ν̣ ἡγησάμην Στράβωνος
ἀφικνουμένου πρός σε .ε[..] ἀσπάσασθαί σε
καὶ παρακαλέσαι ἐπιμελῆσθαι τοῦ ὑγια̣ίνειν
5 πρὸ παντός· [..] π̣ροσδ̣ι̣α[σ]αφῆσαι δέ σοι κα[ὶ]
δεῖν ἐνόμισα [..]..ωσασ[.]σέγραψεν ...[.]
πρὸς τῶι χειρουργει.....[.......]...[ ]
ον ῥ̣ωσθήσεσ̣θ̣α̣ι̣ τη̣....[...]σ̣με[...] ἴσθι δέ μ[ε]
καὶ τούτου φροντίζοις [..] ὡ̣ς̣ εἴ τι καινὸν γένοιτ[ο]
10 μὴ παραλιποῦντά σοι τὸ δηλοῦ[ν·] περὶ δὲ τῶ̣[ν]
ἐρ{ε}ιδίων σπε̣[.. σπού]δ̣ασον \μοι/ πέμψαι ἵν' ὦι
κεχαρισμ[ένος ] τ̣ὰ̣ δ̣' ἄλλα ἔρρωσο
∼ (ἔτους) κη Καίσαρος [ ]... ε̄

vso: Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῷ ἐπιστάτηι

2 ἀναγκαῖο̣ν̣ ἡγησάμην: Cf. **2619**. 4–5 n.
Στράβωνος: Cf. **2604**.1.
4–5 ὑγια̣ίνειν πρὸ παντός: H.C. Youtie, ZPE 34 (1979) 86, notes the relative scarcity of this formula in salutations, e.g. **38**.3. More normal is διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν (cf. Exler 32 f.).
8–10 The main sentence is ἴσθι δέ μ[ε] μὴ *l.* παραλιπόντα σοι κτλ. Inserted into the middle of this as a parenthesis is καὶ τούτου φροντίζοις [..] ὡ̣ς̣ εἴ τι καινὸν γένοιτ[ο].
11 σπε̣: a number? 285 balls of wool?
12 κεχαρισμ[ένος: Cf. Olsson 8.20 = P. Oxy. VII 1061; P. Tebt. I 56.16; **2599**.22; Mayser II,1, p. 225; P. Erasmus 6.12.
τ̣ὰ̣ δ̣' ἄλλα ἔρρωσο: This extremely truncated valediction is unusual in the Athenodoros archive.

Translation

Sarapion to Athenodoros, many greetings and health. Since Strabon was on his way to you I considered it necessary to greet you and above all ask you to watch out for your health. I furthermore considered it necessary to inform you ... Know that I – and think about this in case something new should happen – was not negligent in informing you. About the 285 (?) balls of wool: hurry up and send them to me so that I may be pleased. Otherwise, farewell. Year 28 of Caesar .... Vso: To Athenodoros, the *epistates*.

## 2638 Letter

P. 25248 Herakleopolites
16 x 8.8 cm.

Margins: upper 4.3, lower 7.3, left 2, right 0.5 cm. *Kollesis* 2 cm. from the left. Verso blank.
The purport of this brief message to an unnamed *dioecete*, written with neither sender nor addressee, will have to remain obscure. Wasting no excess verbiage, the writer demands the return of an unspecified object which he had evidently placed at the disposal of someone (the *dioecete*?) the year before.

τῶι σεμνοτάτωι διοικ\η/(τῆι)·
ἐὰν φαίνηται συντάξεις
δοθῆναί μοι τὸ καὶ πέρ̣υσ̣ι̣
δεδομένον.

1 σεμνοτάτωι: Cf. **2600**.3 n.

Translation

To the most respected *dioecete*. If it please you, give an order that (the thing) I gave last year be returned to me.

## 2639 Letter

P. 25397 Herakleopolites
18.2 x 13.5 cm. 10/9

Margins: right ± 1, left 1.5, lower 3 cm. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the left and ± 1 from the right.
Someone informs Athenodoros that in addition to two men remiss in paying their grain-taxes he has arrested the village scribe as well. The writer requests that Athenodoros send him two police to bring the miscreants to Athenodoros for justice. A number of problems arise in connection with the interpretation of this letter's contents. However, there is little likelihood that they will ever be clarified. The writer mentions "old accounts" (l. 5). One would like to know more exactly how old they are. In other words, what was the period of grace enjoyed by tax delinquents at this time and place? Why was the village scribe arrested? Was he suspected of collusion with the two criminals, or was his detention a routine affair until the matter could be cleared up? Since one of his responsibilities was keeping proper tax accounts on the amount of taxes collected and still outstanding, it would have been a rather easy matter to determine if he had done his job conscientiously or if he had falsified the records.



---------------------------
[ 'Αθηνδώρωι ]
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγι-
αίνειν· Φίλιππον 'Εκκράτου παρα-
γραφόμενον ἐν τῷ λογιστηρίῳ ἐκ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣
5 ἀρχαίου λόγου πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) ζ καὶ Διονῦν
Πρωτάρχου πυροῦ (ἀρτ.) κα κα̣ὶ τὸ[ν]
κωμογραμματέα τοῦ ἔτους σεσυν-
ψάφηκα καὶ ἔχω αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ·
ἐὰν οὖν σοι φαίνηται πέμψον μοι μα-
10 χαιροφόρους δύο, ἵνα σοι [α]ὐτοὺς ἐξαποσ-
[τείλω· ἐπιμέλου σεαυτοῦ ἵν'] ὑγιαίνῃς.
ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) κα Καί[σαρος ]ι̣ κ̄ε̄

vso: τῷ διοικητῆι 8 cm. 'Αθην[δώρωι]

5,6 ο̅

7 κωμογραμματέα τοῦ ἔτους: This is not to say that the village scribe at this time served only one year in office. Rather interpret: the village scribe in office and responsible for keeping record of the finances for that particular year. Cf. N. Lewis, The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt, Florence 1982, 37; H.C. Youtie, ZPE 24 (1977) 139.
7–8 *l.* σεσυμψάφηκα: See **2645**.8 n.
9–10 μαχαιροφόρους: See **2428**.18 n.; K. Worp, Einige Wiener Papyri, Amsterdam 1972, 123–124; J.-J. Aubert, BASP 24 (1987) 127–131.
10 See U. Hagedorn, "Das Formular der Überbestellungsbefehle im römischen Ägypten", BASP 16 (1979) 61–79.

Translation

(N.N. to Athenodoros, greetings and above all good health). I have rounded up Philippos, son of Ekkrates, registered in the tax-office in the old record book as being remiss in his taxes to the amount of 7 artabs of wheat and Dionys, son of Protarchos, for 21 artabs of wheat – and the village scribe for the year as well – and I am holding them in prison. If it please you, send me two police so I can hand them over to you. (Take care of yourself so that) you stay well. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, month) 25. Vso: To the *dioecete*, Athenodoros.

## 2640 Letter

P. 25266 Herakleopolites
18.5 x 11 cm. August 9, 10

Margins: upper 5, lower 1.5, left 2, right 1–2 cm. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the right. Athenodoros complains to Theophilos about outrageous behavior on the part of a tax collector.

Ἀθηνόδωρος Θεοφίλωι τῶι
ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίν⟨ε⟩ιν·
ὁ τῆς Πεενσαμοὶ λογευτὴς
αἰτῶν Πετεσοῦχον τῶν
5 ἡ[μετέρ]ων γεωργῶν εἰς λόγον
τọ[ῦ ...]ικοῦ πυροῦ μίαν
..[...] μεγαλῶς ἐξύβρισεν·
διὸ [ε]ὖ π[ο]ιήσεις διαλαβὼν
πα[.... λ]ικμὸν αὐτ..[..]..φεως.
10 ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους) κ Κ[αί]σ(αρος) Μεσ\ο/(ρὴ) ιϛ

vso: τῷ[ι ἀδελφῶι] 3.5 cm. Θεοφίλωι

10 κ[αι]σ

3 Πεενσαμοί: Cf. **2616**.3 n.
λογευτής: Cf. **1590**; P. Fay. Ostr. 12, P. Fay. 244; G. Harper, Aegyptus 14 (1934) 49–64.
8 [ε]ὖ π[ο]ιήσεις διαλαβών: Cf. Döllstädt, p. 6.
9 [π]έμψεις?

Translation

Athenodoros to his brother, Theophilos, greetings and good health! The tax collector from Peensamoi has called one of our farmers, Petesuchos, to account for the ... grain ... and has treated him very insolently. You will, therefore, do well to investigate ... and send him a winnowing shovel (?). Farewell. Year 20 of Caesar, Mesore 16. Vso: To my brother, Theophilos.

## 2641 Letter

P. 25274 Herakleopolites
21 x 9 cm.

Margins: upper 7, left 1.5. Verso blank. For the handwriting cf. **2605** introd. Athenodoros writes to Skolops presenting him with a register of ten farmers from various villages in the Herakleopolite nome who probably owe money.



Ἀθηνόδωρος Σκόλοπι
χαίρειν·
ηεαναλιης .δ.[ ]
οἱ δέκα γ[εω]ρ[γῶν].[ ]
εὐθέως [παραγενό[μενος]]
5 ἔχων τὴν γραφὴν τ[ῶν ]
των γεωργῶν καὶ .[ ]
[traces ] (δραχμ-) [ ]
ἔρρ\ωσ(ο)/ (ἔτους) κα Καίσ(αρος) [

τὴν γραφὴν τῶν γ[εωργῶν]
10 Πνεφερ\ω/(ς) Κόμα [ ]
Ἀλέξαν\δ/(ρος) Ταγχά\ε/(ως) [ ]
]... Τρικ(ωμίας) [ ]
---------------------------

7 ← 8 καισ 12 τρικ´

1 Σκόλοπι: Cf. **2643**.7 n.
11 Ταγχά(εως): Cf. BGU VIII *passim*, **2438**.71 n.; P.J. Sijpesteijn, CdE 56 (1981) 103.
12 Τρικ(ωμίας): Cf. **1808**.8; Calderini, Dizionario, *s.v.*

## 2642 Letter

P. 25394 Herakleopolites
14.3 x 11 cm.

Margins: left 1.2 cm. Verso blank. On the handwriting cf. **2605** introd.

Ἀθηνόδωρ[ος] .[....]φ[ ]
πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
ἐρρωμένῳ ἄριστα ἐπανάγειν ὡς βούλο\μ/(αι)·
συνγνωμονῆς εἰς τό με μὴ πυκνότερά
5 σοι γεγραφ[ε]\ηκέ/ναι, ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς τῆς κατασπορᾶς
καὶ τοῦ λιμνασμοῦ ἐμετε⟨ώ⟩ριζέ με·
δοκεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἔγραψάς μοι τό πως σοι
ἅπαντα ἔχ.[ ± 8 ] μὴ πεπολυπρα-
γμονήκῃς .[ ]ησας ὥς σοι
10 ..........ταω..[ ]ε μεγαλῶς [με] ἐχάρην

traces [ ] ẹθελόντων καὶ
traces [ ]πας ἔσομαι
traces [ ]εχ[.]ι· καὶ διὰ παν-
τ[ὸς ὑ]γιαίνειν [ ]....... πρὸς
15 traces [ ]τος δὲ ε.....υτει\χ/( )
σοι γράφειν ἐπ[ὶ τ]οῦ̣ παρόντος· τὰ δ' ἄλλα σε-
α⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵνα ὑγιαίνῃς.
---------------------------

4 *l.* συγγνωμονῇς.

Translation

Athenodoros to N.N., many greetings, continual health and prosperity, because I wish it. Excuse me for not writing you more often. The season for the sowing and the watering has kept me "up in the air". However, it seems, if you did not write me how things are with you ..., (l. 16), to write you at present. Otherwise, take care of yourself, so you stay healthy ....

## 2643 Letter

P. 25395 Herakleopolites
33 x 15 cm. 9/8

Margins: upper 4.5, left 2 cm. *Kollesis* 6 cm. from the left. The same script as **2622**, **2644.**
Someone writes to Athenodoros first reporting on official matters in Busiris. He abruptly turns to agricultural and private matters which take up the rest of the letter.

[ ± 10 'Αθηνοδώρωι τ]ῷ ἀδελφῷ πλεῖστα
[χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγια]ίνειν ὡς εὔχομαι·
[ ]...[.]..ει συντελέσαι
[ ] traces αι ὡς μὴ δυνα-
5 [ ].λη... δὶς γεγράφηκα̣
κ' ἔστιν .....[ ]...
ησωμ..[ ] πρὸ Σκόλοπος μέλλομεν
ὑστερησ̣ traces τὸν προστάτην εἶναι·
οὐκ εἴδην [ὅτι .]μ̣αρ̣κης ἐστιν τόπου ὥστε ἐμὲ
10 μένειν ἐν Βουσίρ⟨ε⟩ι ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ μὴ κατα-
λογήν μου ποιεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ ἀπορίψαι μοι τὸ ἐπί-
σταλμα .[....].δε μοι δεδωκέναι π̣λ̣ο̣υ̣
τραψεσ[....].φεν. πέπομφα δέ σοι αὐτὸ



τὸ ἐπίσταλμ̣α̣ [τὸ] συ⟨ν⟩ηλιγμένον τῇ ἐπιστολῇ—
15 ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ νῦν παρῃτημένοι {σι} τὸν σ̣τρατηγὸν οἱ ὀφεί-
λοντες τὰς μετεπιγραφὰς τὰ⟨ς⟩ ἕως τῆς ῑ
τοῦ Μεχείρ· εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις ἐκ παντὸς
[τ]ρ̣[ό]π̣[ο]υ̣ [......].ήσαντος ἐ..δοῦναι Πετοβάσθι
τῷ ἀποδιδοῦντί σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἵνα μὴ
20 ε̣γ̣δ̣οντον τῶν δέκα ἀρουρῶν [γέ]ν̣ηται ἡ φυτεία·
ἐπ⟨ε⟩ὶ Σκόλοψ οὐκ ε⟨ἴ⟩ακεν ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ χεῖρα{ν} ἐργά-
ζεσθαι ἡ π̣εφλεγμ̣ε̣νη ἡμῶν τῶν ἔργων——-
[ κε]χώρισται τοῦ βοθυνισμοῦ· καὶ ἐπισ-
[ ]..οτροπίων ἀγορασμός· καὶ περὶ τῶ\ν/
25 σχοινίων μελησάτω σοι καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου ἐὰν
ἦ̣ ἑτοῖμοι· ἐ̣ὰ̣ν δὲ μή, ἄλλα τρία σκαφῆα ἡμεῖν
εὐπόρησον· τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμ̣έ̣[(λου) ἵν'] ὑγι(αίνῃς)
ὃ δὴ μ̣έ̣γ̣ι̣(στον) ἡγοῦμα̣[ι]·
ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρος [..].\/( ) ιδ

loose fragment: νῦν ἐστ[ι

24 τῶ' 27 υγ+ 28 μεγ+

On the vso. next to the lower edge in small letters: τῷ ἀδε\λ/(φῷ)
10 cm. to the right of that in large letters: 'Αθηνοδώρωι

7 Σκόλοπος: *addendum onomasticis*; cf. l. 21 and **2641**.1. Given its adjectival character, Skolops is likely to have been the name of either a slave or freedman. Cf. **2618**.22–23, for bibliography on the nomenclature of slaves.
9 εἴδην: Gignac, Morphology 411, cites P. Oxy. 2339.17.
14 Olsson no. 2.3n. discusses sending letters or other documents in combination with each other.
15–16 οἱ ὀφείλοντες: Probably those unable to pay their taxes had been requested by the *strategos* to relinquish their land; cf. W. Kunkel, "Über die Veräusserung von Katökenland", ZSS. RA 48 (1928) 285f. They seem to have had time up to Mecheir, that is the middle of the Egyptian calendar, to make their intentions known to the officials.
17 τοῦ Μεχείρ: Cf. **2606**.4–7, **2608**.5 and **2610**.5 for other examples of month or village names with the definite article.
ἐκ corrected from ἐγ.
18 Πετοβάσθι = **2596**.6?
20 ελαοντον?, ελλοντον? Cf. CRIPEL 16 (1994) 87-89.
22 ἡ πεφλεγμένη τῶν ἡμῶν ἔργων: The intent of this line remains obscure. Evidently something has burnt up.
23 βοθυνισμοῦ: *addendum lexicis*.
26 *l.* ὦσι or εἶεν, according to whether one interprets the clause as conditional or indirect interrogative.
*l.* σκαφεῖα.

28 Before the date are two horizontal strokes and above them two vertical strokes none of which can be brought into conjunction with any of the known month names preceding Mecheir (l. 17).

Translation

N.N. to Athenodoros, my brother, many (greetings and continual) health, as I pray. ... (l. 9) I did not know that ... was of the area, with the result that I stayed in Busiris three days, did not make my recommendation and threw the commission away ... I have sent you the commission wrapped up in the letter, since those obliged to make conveyance (of their land) by the 10th of Mecheir are petitioning the *strategos*. Please be so kind as ... in every way possible to ... give to Petobasthis, the one who is bringing this letter to you, so that the planting of the ten aruras may not be impeded (?). Since Skolops has not allowed us to work at once, the ... has been burnt .... from our endeavors ... separated from the ditch-digging ....
See to the ropes and the iron, whether they are ready. If not, get three other hacks for us. Otherwise, take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 22 of Caesar, ... 14. Vso: To brother Athenodoros.

## 2644 Letter

P. 25386 — Herakleopolites
29.5 x 17.2 cm. — June 26, 4

Margins: upper 6.5, lower 3.5 cm. *Kollesis* 4.5 cm. from the left. The same script on **2622** and **2643**. Verso blank.
This letter is addressed to Athenodoros in his capacity as "trafficker" or "merchant" and concerns grain shipments. Since the boats necessary for transporting the grain to Koma have been requisitioned by the army, the grain risks reaching the market too late to be sold. Some sort of grain-price manipulations at the New Market seem to be the result, and a certain Antiochos has advised the anonymous correspondent of this letter to take what he can get (?). He therefore writes Athenodoros requesting his advice and instructions on how to proceed.

[ 'Α]θηνοδώρωι τῶι ἐμπολαίωι
[ πλεῖστ]α̣ χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
[ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστ]α ἐπανάγειν ὡς εὔχομαι·
[γίγνωσκε ὅτι τὰ] πλοῖα ἅπαντα ἐνγεγάρευται
5 ὑπὸ τῆς λεγεῶνος καὶ οὐχ εὑρίσκω{ι} πως νῦν
[τὸν πυρὸν] μεταγάγω{ι} εἰς Κόμα· εἰ οὖν ἐ[θέλεις]
πέμψον μοι πλοῖον ἕ̣τερον ὅπως π̣[ορεύωμαι]
εἰς τὴ̣ν Κόμα· ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ μεταχθῆ[ι ὁ πυρὸς]
ἄ̣πρατος ἔσται· ἕκαστος γὰρ ...[ ]



10 .ου γεωργὸς ἀπὸ Νέας 'Αγορᾶ⟨ς⟩· οἱ γὰρ ἑλόντες τὴν νέαν
ἤδη οἱ πλείονες πε̣δ̣..τα[ι] τὴν τιμὴν τῆι λεγεῶν̣ι̣·
'Αντίοχός φασιν ἐμὲ δεῖ⟨ν⟩ λαβεῖν εἰς ἃ ἐπο⟨ί⟩ησαν .[...]
ὑπερ... τ[]ο̣ ἀνήλ̣ω̣μ̣[α]· πρὸ τῶν ὅλων σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ
ἐπιμέλο̣[υ] ἵ[ν'] ὑγιαίνῃς ὃ δὴ μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι·
15 ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) κς Καίσαρ(ος) 'Επεὶφ β ¯

1 ἐμπολαίωι: A relatively rare word, attested in the papyri here for the first time.
3 Cf. **2614**.3 n.
4 *l.* ἐγγεγάρευται.
6 ἔ[χεις]?
10 Νέας 'Αγορᾶ⟨ς⟩: Apparently a place name, heretofore unattested, in the Herakleopolite nome (?).
12–13 ἵνα μὴ ὑπερέχῃ τὸ ἀνήλωμα?
14 ὃ δὴ μέγιστον: Cf. **2622**.24 n., **2624**.14.
15 Pap. καισαρ/

Translation

N.N. to Athenodoros, the merchant ... many greetings, continual (health and prosperity), as I wish for you. (Know that the) ships have all been pressed into service by the legion, and I now have no way of transporting the (wheat) to Koma. If, therefore, you (have one?), send me another boat so I may (travel) to Koma. For unless the wheat is transported it cannot be sold. For each ... farmer from New Market. For they have seized the new .... Already a greater part of the ... have ... the price for the legion. Antiochos says I should take whatever they bid (?), (so that?) the price may not be exceeded. Above all take care of yourself, so you stay healthy – which is our fondest desire. Farewell. Year 26 of Caesar, Epeiph 2.

## 2645 Letter

P. 25260 — Herakleopolites
20.7 x 15.5 cm. — Feb. 19, 13

Margins: upper 4.5, right ± 2, lower ± 6 cm. Verso blank. On the left edge is a strip of double layer of vertical fibers. Further to the right there is a mere single layer of vertical fibers onto which the horizontal fibers have been attached. Nonetheless the uppermost layer of papyrus (the one with the writing) is missing from the far left edge having taken with it the first four or five letters with it. The same handwriting as that on **2613** and **2664**.
Someone writes to Athenodoros about runaway slaves.

[ ] 'Αθηνοδώρωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
[πλεῖσ]τα [χα]ίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι·

[κατα]π̣έ̣πληται Πετεχῶν ὁ ἡμέτερος
[μετὰ] παιδαρίου ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀνακεχώρη-
5 [κεν] εἰς τοὺς κατὰ σε τόπους· εὖ πο(ι)ή-
[σεις] ἐπιτάξας τινὰ τῶν σῶν μετα
[...... ἐ]κομιζο..υ̣τοι τὸ γράμμα γενε( )
[ἵν᾽ αὐτὸς] συμψησθῆι· τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ἐπιμέλ/(ου) ἵν᾽ ὑγι(αίνῃς).
ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) ιζ Καίσ(αρος) Μεχ/(εὶρ) κδ

7 γενε 8 υγ/

2 ἐρρῶσθαι: More usual in the Athenodoros archive is ὑγιαίνειν.
3 [ἀνα]π̣έπληται? See H. Youtie, HThR 41 (1948) 15.36 n. = *id.*, Scriptiunculae I 493, discussing such compound words as they apply to navigation on the Nile.
4 παιδαρίου: Cf. J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3960.28 n., discussing the problems of interpretation. On runaway slaves in antiquity see P. Turner 41; I. Biezunska-Malowist, "Les esclaves fugitifs", in: Studi in onore di E. Volterra VI, Milan 1969, 75–90; H. Bellen, Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich, Wiesbaden 1971; E. Turner, O. Skutsch, JRS 50 (1960) 108–111; R. Scholl, Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri, Trier 1989, 141ff.; G. Horsley, NDIEC 4, p. 97. On slaves in Egypt in general: O. Biezunska-Malowist in: Egitto e storia antica 261–270.
7 ἐ]κόμιζον α̣ὐτοί ?
τὸ γράμμα: Cf. **2665**.3 n.
8 συμψησθῆι: Cf. P. Tebt. I 13.15 and 48.31 n.; **2639**.7–8.
9 Pap. καισ̄

Translation

N.N. to Athenodoros, (many) greetings and continual health. Our Petechon has sailed (up?, down?) with his own slave, and (he) has escaped into the area near you. Be so kind as to command one of your men ..., (so that he) may be apprehended. Otherwise, take care of yourself, so you stay well. Farewell. Year 17 of Caesar, Mecheir 24.

## 2646 Letter

P. 25273 Herakleopolites
24.7 x 30 cm. May 12, 3

Margins: upper 2.7, below col. II: 3 cm. One *kollesis* 14 cm. from the left edge and another flush with the right edge. Written in the same hand as **2614**, **2634**, **2636**, **2641**, **2642**, **2653**, **2666** and **2667** but in much larger letters.
Unusual is the arrangement of the writing on the page. The left column contains the letter proper with its salutation in the first line and conclusion, valediction and dating in their usual places in the last lines. However, the second column of writing, which is unadorned by any salutation, valediction or other indication as to the reason for its presence on the same page, obviously belongs to the same letter. For,



in addition to the identical paleography of both columns of writing, further proof that they are part and parcel of the same letter are the occasional line ends from the left column which run over the *kollesis* onto the next sheet. Since the second column lacks any identifying ear marks, it is probably best to treat it as a gigantic *post scriptum*.
Someone, either Diokes or a *dioecete*, writes to Athenodoros about various matters concerning other officials – including past and present prefects, police and soldiers – and finances.

Col. I
[...... Ἀθηνοδώρωι τῶι] γλυκυτάτωι
[ ±16 ] μετεωριτοσις
[ ±16 ]λειν οἰκονομήθη
[ ±16 ]δε ἡμεῖ̣ν̣ ἢ ὅτι̣ ..
5 [ ±16 ]ρων ἵνα εἰ δυνα-
[ ]
μὴ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν καὶ εἰ μ.[ ±7 ]
ση διὰ σ(ε)α(υ)τοῦ [ἔ]χειν χα[ ±7 ]
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἵνα οἱ ἀν[ ]
10 καθεσ[..]νται ἐμέλησε [ ]
ἔχωμεν [ ]κ..π..[ ]
τοῦ \./ μετὰ πολ(λ)ῆς κακοπα[θίας· ὑπὲ]ρ
δὲ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς ἧς μοι [ἔ]δωκας
{ε} ὠνήσασθαι Περὶ Βουσῖριν (δραχμῶν) κ ἐὰν
15 μὴ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπαύλεως δοῖς (δραχμὰς)
διακοσίας οὐ συνχωρεῖ· ἐὰν μὲν οὖν
δόξῃ τῶι ἡγεμόνι γράψαι περὶ
τῶν μαχαιροφ(όρ)ων· εἰ δὲ μ[ή], λήψο̣-
μαι στρατιώτας τρεῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ·
20 ἐάν σοι φαίνη\ται/ συντόμως γράψῃς
τί με δεῖ πο(ι)εῖν· τὸ δὲ πλοῖον οὔ πω{ι}
η.α· χαριῇ μοι σ(ε)α(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμελ(όμε)νος ἵνα ὑγι(αίνῃς)·
ἔρρω[(σο)] (ἔτους) κζ Καίσαρος Παχὼν ιζ

Col. II
ἔγραψά σοι πρὸ τῶν ἐπιστολὰς πῶς σοι καὶ ἄνῃ
25 Ἀφινίωι δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν
ἀναφορὰν ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν
ἔλθῃ· γ{ε}ίνωσκε τ.[ ]
μον[ ±7 ]..[.γ]ράμματος ἐμφανίσ-

[αι ἀπ]οδόσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξᾶτος τοῦ
30 Τύχωνος ἀδελφοῦ Ἀφινίωι· αὐτὸς
δὲ λίαν μετεωρίζεται· Ἡρᾶς δὲ παρή-
σ̣ε̣ται τη (ταλαντ-) ι διὰ τὸ Τυρ⟨ρ⟩άνιον μικῶς
μετριάζειν ἵνα λάβωμεν παρʼ αὐτοῦ
γράμματα· Ἀσκλᾶν τὸν τοῦ Ἀρήου
35 εὔψυχον πο⟨ί⟩ησον· θεῶν θελόντων τὸ
κατὰ αὐτὸν οἰκονομηθήσεται τῇ ἔξω
ὡς ὡμολόγησαι· πειρασόμεθα καὶ
τι⟦η⟧ Δαμᾶτος ἐκπ̣λ̣ῦσαι· Τύχων ἥκει
εἰς τὴν πόλιν τούτου χάριν· ἐὰν τ̣ὸ πλοῖον
40 εἰσέλθῃ, ἐμβήσο⟨ν⟩ται οἱ σοί· ἐγὼ{ι} γὰρ θέλω
τὴν τοῦ ἡγε[μό]νος ἐπιστολὴν λαβεῖν,
εἰ καί σοι δοκ[εῖ.]

vso: (upside down)ἀπ̣(όδος) Ἀθην̣ο̣δ̣ώ̣ρ̣ωι
(rightside up) διοκης Ἀθηνο[δώρωι

14, 15 ← 32 ⌃

2 *l.* μετεωριτός (an unattested verbal adjective?) εἰς?, or μετεωρεῖ τὸ σισ-?
14 *l.* ἐν τῇ Περὶ Βουσῖριν: See M. Kaimio, P. Hels. I 32.4 n., on this toparchy.
15 δοῖς: See on this subjunctive form Gignac, Grammar II 388.
16 *l.* συγχωρεῖ.
17 ἡγεμόνι: The prefect in this year is still unknown. G. Tyrannius is last attested in office in 5/4 and P. Octavius first attested in 2/1 B.C. Cf. **2605**.1 n. for bibliography.
18 μαχαιροφ⟨όρ⟩ων: Cf. **2639**.9–10 n.
22 η̣.α: Perhaps some form of πλεῖν?
22, 23 The abbreviation symbols employed in these lines are too indistinct to read.
24 *l.* πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων *aut sim.*
26 ἀνάμνησιν: This seems to be the first attestation of the word in the documentary papyri.
27 *l.* γίγνωσκε.
32 Τυρ⟨ρ⟩άνιον: See **2605**.1 n. for bibliography on Gaius Tyrannius.
μικῶς: Olsson 54.17 n. discusses the word μικ(κ)ός.
35 θεῶν θελόντων: Olsson 41.11–12 n. discusses this phrase.
37 *l.* ὡμολόγησε.
38 ἐκπ̣λῦσαι: *non liquet.*
44 *l.* διοκητής? Cf. **2654.**11 where a similar configuration appears. *L.* Διόκκης? Cf. IG VII 188.14, where this name appears. Seleukos is attested as the *dioecete* in this year in **2600**.10. Otherwise, he appears in **2612**, **2613**, **2614**, **2634**.1.

Translation

N.N. to (Athenodoros, the) sweetest … (l. 12ff.) with much annoyance. Concerning the installment – namely 20 drachmas – which you gave me for purchases in the Peri Busirin (toparchy): unless you do not give two hundred drachmas, he is not in



agreement (or: it is impossible, *i.e.* to purchase). If it please you, write to the prefect about the policemen. If not, then I will take three soldiers from him. If it please you, write me immediately what I should do. The ship is not sailing at all (?). You would do me a favor to take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 27 of Caesar, Pachon 17.
I have written you before why it is not permitted to give Afinius either the letter or the installment: it is so that he may not be reminded. Know that … it was made known in a letter that it was returned to Afinius by Alexas, Tychon' brother. He is very disturbed. Heras will forget the 10 talents, because Tyrranius (the prefect) has calmed down a bit, so that we can get a letter from him. Encourage Asklas, Areos's agent. The gods willing, his matter will be put in order outside – as he promised. We will try to … Damas. That is why Tycho is coming to the city. If the boat should arrive, your agents will embark. I want to have the prefect's letter – if it please you! Give (this) to Athenodoros. Diokes to Athenodoros.

## 2647 Letter

P. 25267 — Herakleopolites
18 x 16 cm. — March 21, 8

Margins: left 1.5, right 2, lower 1.5 cm. A certain Pla- writes admonishing Athenodoros to take care of Hieronikes who is facing charges involving a shipwreck and subsequent loss of cargo.

---------------------------
α..[
πλεῖστ\α/ χ̣α̣ί̣ρ̣ε̣ι[ν καὶ] διὰ [παντὸς ὑ-]
γιαίνειν· δεόντω[ς] Ἱερονίκης εἰς
τ̣ο̣σ̣α̣γάλην πορ[εύ]εται διὰ τὸ
5 μέμψασθαι αὐτῷ ἃ ἀπώλεσε ἐν τῆι·
ναυαγίᾳ· εὖ οὖν πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις, ἀδελφέ,
γράψας τοῖς σοῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν εἰσδέ-
ξωνται, καὶ μὴ ἀπορίψῃ⟨ς⟩· ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ\ς/
τόπον ἐν τῷ σου α̣...ῳ εἰς Βουσῖριν γρ\ά/-
10 ψον μόνον ὡς ο[ὐ μὴ ἀ]πορίψῃς ε..( )
ἄλλ\α/ τεύξεται ὑπ[....] πρὸ δὲ πάν-
των σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμ[έλου ἵν]α ὑγιαίν(ῃς)·
ἔρρωσ(ο)
ἔτους κβ [Καίσαρος Φα]μ̣εν(ὼθ) κ̣ε̣
15 vso: Πλα απι̅ Ἀθᾶι ..[

10 ε⁖ 14 φαμεν̅

4 τ̣ο̣σαγάλην: If this is the name of a village, it seems to be unattested for the Herakleopolite nome.
6–7 Cf. **2640**.8.
9 *l.* ἐν Βουσίρει.: See **2611**.5 n., 8 n.
10 ο[ὐ μὴ]: According to Mayser II,1 § 44 (p. 233), a particularly strong form of negation characteristic of private letters.
14 Pap. φαμεν̄
15 Pap. απῑ = ἀπ(όδος)?
'Αθᾶι: See p. 80.

Translation

Pla( ) (to Athenodoros), many greetings (and continual) health. Hieronikes is going as he should to Tosalges (?) to face the music about the things he lost in the shipwreck. You will do well, my brother, to write to your people in order that they receive him – and do not reject (him). If you don't have a place in your ... at Busiris, just write so that you do not reject .... Above all take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 22 (of Caesar), Phamenoth 25. Vso: Pla( ) ... to Athas ....

## 2648 Letter

P. 25280 Herakleopolites
20.5 x 13 cm.

Margins: upper 5.5 cm., right: negligible. *Kollesis* 0.5 cm. from the right edge.
Mnaseas (?) writes on behalf of a lady in need to a certain Theon requesting his assistance.

[....]σεας Θέωνι τῶι φιλτάτωι πλεῖστα χα(ίρειν)·
[.].ιόμηṇ καὶ 'Απερῶτα τὸν πατέρα σοι δι' ἑτέρα(ς)
[ἐ]πιστολῆς φιλοτιμότατα γεγραφηκέναι τὴν
[.]ρ̣[...].τ.[.].της συ.ο̣λιωιθεν ὑμῶν ἀπο̣-
5 [.]εντος̣. καὶ σπουδάσα̣ι̣ .... τινα μητρὸς
.... και .. πρ[οσ]επιπαρακαλῶ{ι} ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς [....].......φορήσῃ αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτ\ῇ/
ὑπάρχοντα καὶ μηδὲν κα......· συνεργή-
[σ]ας δὲ αὐτῇ ⟨ε⟩ἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλογὴν
10 καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ⟨ε⟩ἰς τὸ μηδὲν αὐτὴν—
[.].λα.κ̣έ̣ναι ὅπως περ̣ι̣γ̣ε̣νομένη ἀνθομολογηστ()
ἐσχηκυῖα ἅπαντα τὰ παρά σου δίκαια· πρὸ
[δὲ πάντων] ἐπιμέλου σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἵνα ὑγιαίνῃς
--------------------------



vso: ] Θέωνι

1 χ̅ς̅ 2 ετερα̅ 7 αυτ` 11 τ`

1 [Μνα]σέας?: Cf. **2622**.1.
2 'Απερῶτα: See P. Hamb. 217.15–18 n., where the occurrences of this name (predominantly from the Oxyrhynchites) are listed.
*l.* σου.
3 φιλοτιμότατα γεγραφηκέναι: Cf. PSI 484.7: γράψαι φιλότιμον ἐπιστολήν.
9 ⟨ε⟩ἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καταλογήν: Cf. **2650**.10–11 n.
11 *l.* ἀνθομολογήσητ(αι)?

Translation

Mnaseas to his dearest Theon, many greetings. I have ... Aperos, your father, in another letter that he write most assiduously ... (l. 7) that he bring her and her things and ... aiding her on our recommendation and that of her/our? father so that she not ..., in order that in the long run she may end up thanking you, having received thorough justice at your hands. Above (all) take care of yourself so you stay well .... Vso.: To Theon.

## 2649 Letter

P. 25276 Herakleopolites
24.5 x 11 cm. Oct. 29, 5 A.D.

Margins: upper 5, right 2–3, lower 4 cm. Verso blank.
Although the left half of this letter has broken off, taking with it the names of both correspondents, it probably belongs to Athenodoros's archive, since a certain Tryphas, known from other letters (**2617**.1,12, **2618**.1) also appears in this one. Furthermore, it is written in the same script as **2659** and **2662**. The main purpose of this letter was to greet the "folks back home" and to ask for some bread to be sent.

[ ] πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς
[ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστα] ἐπανάγειν ὡς εὔχομαι·
[ κυ]δάρου ἀναπλέοντος ἀναγκαῖον
[ἡγησάμην σε δι' α]ὐτοῦ ἀσπάσ⟨ασ⟩θαι· ἀσπάζου —
5 [ Σ]ωτήριχον τὸν ἀ[δ]ελφὸν καὶ Τρυφᾶν
[ ] καὶ 'Ηράκλειον τὸν πατ[έ]ρα καὶ τὰ
[παιδάρια ? ]ν καὶ τὸν Μικκὸν κ[α]ὶ τοὺς
[ἐν οἴκωι πάντες· πρὸ τῶ]ν ὅλων δέομαι [το]ῦ σώματος
[ ἐπ]ιμέλειαν πο⟨ι⟩εῖσθα[ι ἵν'] ὑγιαίνῃς·
10 [ ] ἔρρωσ(ο) (ἔτους) κ̣ε̣ Καίσα[ρ]ος 'Αθὺρ β¯
[ ]ενι πέμψεις μοι ἐν τῶι κυδάρωι

[                    ].ως οὐκ ἐμβεβλημέν[....].ηι ὀλίγα ἀρτίδια
[διὸ ἐρωτηθεὶς μὴ λη]ρήσῃς ε( )·
[                    πέ]μψον τὰ ἀρτίδια ἐν τῶι κυδάρωι
15 [                    ἀν]απλεῖ.

2 [ἐρρωμένωι ἄριστα]: Cf. **2614**.3 n.
3 κυ]δάρου: Cf. **2661**.11 n. for bibliography on ships and shipping in antiquity.
3–4 Cf. **2619**.4–5 n.
5 Τρυφᾶν: Athenodoros's mother?/father? or sister; cf. **2617**.1n., 4n.
7 τὸν Μικκὸν or τὸν μικκὸν: Cf. P. Oxy. 3936.25 where the same problem occurs. Mayser II,2,1, §§54,55; A. Deissmann, Berliner Phil. Wochenschr. 22 (1902) 1467–1468; J.H. Moulton and N. Turner, A Grammar of New Testament Greek III, Edinburgh 1963, 165–172, discuss the use of the definite article with names.
8 The restoration is somewhat too long for the lacuna.
12 ἀρτίδια: Cf. Battaglia, Artos 73.
13 Restored on the basis of **2660**.15–16.
Pap. ε+

Translation

N.N. to N.N., many greetings, (continual) health and prosperity, as I wish (for you). ... since the boat is sailing up (to you), I (regarded) it necessary to greet (you by means of it). Greet (therefore) ... brother Soterichos, Tryphas, ... father Herakleios and (the slaves?), ... N.N., and Mikkos along with (everyone else at home). Above all I ask you ... to pay attention to your body so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 25 of Caesar, Hathyr 2.
... you will send me in the boat ... were not loaded ... a few loaves. Since you have been asked do not therefore prattle on ... send the loaves in the boat (which is) sailing up ....

## 2650 Letter

P. 25257 Herakleopolites
25 x 10.5 cm.

Margins: upper 4.8, left 1.8, lower 1 cm. *Kollesis* almost flush with the right edge. Artemidoros writes to Apollonios about fiscal/financial matters concerned with tax assessments from eleven years before. Clarifying details are lost in the lacunae.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀπολλ[ωνίωι τῷ] ἀδε\φ/(ῷ)
πλ[εῖστ]α χαί(ρειν) καὶ ὑγι[αίνε]ι̣ν̣ ὡ̣ς̣ ε̣ὔ̣χ̣[ο]μ̣α̣ι̣·
ἡ̣μᾶς τινα παραγραφὴν τω [...].
καὶ εὕρομεν τὴν μίαν [
5 traces          καὶ οὐ καλῶς
λέγ⟨ε⟩εις τῶι εἶναι τὸν Πα⟨ν⟩ετβεῦιν



παρ' ἐμοῦ· παρῃτησάμην ἐπ[..]σειν
τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸ πλείω{ι} τοῦ ζ (ἔτους)
ἀπῃτημένον τέταρτον· καλῶς
10 οὖν πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις, ἀδελφέ, εἰς τὴν ἐμήν
καταλογὴν ἐπ{ι}έχων μ[ο]υ [..]χ̣ρ̣\η̣/()
σὺ ο.[..]..[..] καὶ πεισθῇς [...]...
ανταιπ traces [....]υτος
traces
15 σκοπῶν ἕως τῆς εγθ̣ι̣διο[
πρὸ δὲ πάντων ἐπιμέλου [σ]εα⟨υ⟩τοῦ
ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς)· ἔρρωσ(ο) (ἔτους) ιη Καίσ[(αρος)] ...... ε

vso: Ἀπολλωνίωι] τῶι ἀδε[λφῶι]

17 υγ+

1 Ἀπολλ[ωνίωι: An Apollonios also appears in **2653**.2.
2 Pap. χς
5–6 *l*. καὶ οὐ καλῶς ποιεῖς λέγων αὐτῶι κτλ.
6 Πα⟨ν⟩ετβεῦιν: Cf. J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412 introd., on the geographical distribution of this name.
10–11 εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν καταλογήν: Cf. P. Oxy. 787 (= Olsson, no. 16.3–4); P. Strasb. 117.4; P. Mert. II 61.8; R. Cavenaile, Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum, Wiesbaden 1958, no. 257; **2648**.9.

Translation

Artemidoros to (his) brother, Apollonios, many greetings and good health and prosperity, as I wish. That we ... a certain register of debts ... and we found the one ... it was not right of you to say to him that Panetbeuis is with me. I begged brother E- for exemption for most of the 7th year from the quarter demanded (of me). You will therefore do well, brother, on my recommendation to .... Above all take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 18 of Caesar, ... 5. Vso: To Apollonios, (my) brother.

## 2651 Letter

P. 25183 Herakleopolites
23 x 15.3 cm. August 22, 9

Margins: upper 5.5, left 3, lower 5.5, right 0.5–1.5 cm.
Asklepiades writes to Herakleides encouraging him to seek out the toparch, who is presently in Herakleopolis where Herakleides lives, in order to clarify a long-standing matter. Asklepiades would see to the matter himself, but he is suffering from an eye ailment which prevents him from coming to Herakleopolis.

Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἡρακλείδηι τῶι ἀδελφῶι
χαίρειν καὶ [διὰ] παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν καθάπερ εὔχομ\α/(ι)·
γ{ε}ίνωσκε ὅτι περὶ οὗ πέπομφας ἐπιστολίου
ὁ τοπάρχης ἀπόκρισιν ἡμῖν οὐ δέδωκεν
5 περὶ τούτου· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοπάρχης
παραγ{ε}ίνεται εἰς Ἡρακλέους πόλιν παρά σοι
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος μὴ ἀμελήσῃς ὅπως
αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγβιβάσῃς· διὰ δὲ τὴν
ὀφθαλμίαν παραπεπόδισμαι τοῦ ἀναβῆναι
10 πρός σε· καὶ σεαυτοῦ ἐ(πιμέλου) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς)·
ἔρρωσο (ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Μεσορὴ κ̄θ

vso: Ἡ[ρακ]λείδηι τῶι ἀδελ(φῶι)

10 ε, υγι

2 Ἡρακλείδηι: Cf. **2608**, **2609**, **2610**, **2611** and **2656**.
3 *l.* γίγνωσκε.
4 τοπάρχης: Since the *toparch*'s competence was wide ranging, it is impossible to speculate what Asklepiades's concern might have been. On *toparchs* and the spheres of their jurisdiction see: W. Peremans, E. van 't Dack, "La toparchie dans l'Egypte ptolemaique", CdE 23 (1948) 147ff.; J. Lesquier, P. Magdola 20.5 n.; P. Hib. 240.1 n.; P. Tebt. 703, p. 92; A. Samuel, "The Internal Organization of the Nomarch's Bureau", in: Essays ... C.B. Welles, New Haven, Conn. 1966, 213–229; H. Maspero, Les finances de l'Egypte sous les Lagides, Paris 1905, 186; F. Preisigke, Girowesen im griech.-römischen Ägypten, Strassburg 1910, repr. Hildesheim 1971, 134; Oertel, Liturgie 162.
ἀπόκρισιν: All other attestations for this word in WB and Supplement are from the early Byzantine papyri.
6 *l.* παραγίγνεται.
8 αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα: See Olsson 77.2 n. on such pleonasms such as this.
*l.* ἐκβιβάσῃς
9 ὀφθαλμίαν: Another unusual word in this pedestrian context. Cf. P. Flor. III 382.41: ὀ[φθαλμ]ίαις. Otherwise, it is attested only in the literary papyri - and on a gold *lamella* (R. Kotansky, Greek Magical Amulets I, Opladen 1994, no. 53). Similar both in context and in style is PSI IV 299.6 = Döllstädt no. III: καὶ τραχώματα ἔσχον.
Diseases of the eye, especially ophthalmia, were, and still are, pandemic in Egypt, and the ancient and modern literature on the subject is extensive; for example, W. Westendorf, "Augenheilkunde", LdÄ 1 (1975) 560–562; H. Grapow, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter III, Berlin 1956, pp. 53–55; M.-H. Marganne, CdE 53 (1978) 313–320; H. Nielsen, Ancient Ophthalmological Agents. A Pharmaco-Historical Study of Collyria, Odense 1974 (*non vidi*); *id.*, Medicaments used in the Treatment of Eye Diseases in Egypt, the countries of the Near East, India and China in Antiquity, 1987 (*non vidi*); H. Harrauer, ZPE 35 (1979) 129; F. Maltomini, ZPE 48 (1982) 162; Chassinat 72, 146,–162, 170, 189ff., 204–233, 294–304, 315, 322–323; Till,14–19; Dietrich, Drogenhandel, 29–37; E. Savage-Smith, "Hellenistic and Byzantine Ophthalmology: Trachoma and Sequelae", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 38 (1984) 169–186; M. Meyerhof, "The History of Trachoma Treatments in Antiquity and during the Arabic Middle Ages", JHAS 4 (1980) 147–206 (*non vidi*); Wm. Brashear, JAC 5 (Changchun, P.R. China 1990) 151–158; M.-H. Marganne, L'ophtalmologie dans l'Egypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs, Leiden 1994. Mircea Eliade, Zalmoxis. Revue des Etudes Religieuses 1 (1938) 249, cites additional bibliography.
On doctors in general: G. Pfohl, Inschriften der Griechen. Epigraphische Quellen zur Geschichte der antiken Medizin, Darmstadt 1977; R. Steuer and J. Saunders, Ancient Egyptian and Cnidian Medicine, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1959; D.W. Amundsen, G. Ferngren, "The Forensic Role of Physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt", Johns Hopkins Bull. Hist. Med. 52 (1978) 336–353; F. Kudlien, Der griechische Arzt im Zeitalter des Hellenismus, Wiesbaden 1979, 65–72; P. Roesch, "Médecins publics dans l'Egypte impériale", in: G. Sabbah, ed., Centre Jean Palerne. Mémoires III. Médecins et Médecine dans l'Antiquité, St. Etienne 1982, 119–129; J. Rea, P. Schubert, P. Oxy. 3926.37 n.; G. Majno, The Healing Hand, Harvard Univ. Press 1975. B. McGing, P. Dublin 1, introd, p. 3, cites further bibliography on doctors.



Translation

Asklepiades to Herakleides, his brother, many greetings and continual health, as I pray. You should know that the *toparch* has not given us any answer in the matter concerning which you sent me a letter. Since the *toparch* is with you in Herakleopolis, you should not neglect this opportunity to bring this matter to an end. I am unable to come up to you because of my eye affliction. Take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Mesore 29. Vso: Herakleides to his brother.

## 2652 Letter

P. 21971 Herakleopolites
9.4 x 16.1 cm.

Margins: upper 4.2, left 3.5, right variable, lower 1 cm. *Kollesis* 1 cm. from the right edge. The script is the same as that on **2605** and others – see **2605** introd. Verso blank.
Athenodoros writes to Eurylochos about a sum of 2000 silver drachmas on the tax-account of the *arithmetikon katoikon*. Although this tax is well attested for Roman Egypt, most of the instances refer to the Arsinoite nome. Here is a rare instance of this tax with explicit reference to the Herakleopolite nome (l. 3). It is, furthermore, one of the earliest attestations to this tax. O. Tait Ashmol. 24 (9 B.C.) is the earliest dated receipt for this tax. Unfortunately, no date is preserved on this letter. However, since Athenodoros's and Eurylochos's other letters date from 10/9 to 2 B.C., one can therefore posit the composition of this letter as roughly contemporary.

Ἀθηνόδωρος Εὐρυλόχῳ τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρ(ειν)
[κ]αὶ ὑγιαίνειν. ὀρθῶς χρήσῃ δοὺς Ἀντωνίῳ ἀντὶ τῶν
τὰς ἴσας ὧν ἔσχον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου
ἀπὸ λόγου ἀριθμητικοῦ κατοίκων
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας [ἀπὸ λόγου ἀριθμητικ.]
5 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας (γίν.) (δρ.) Ἀβ

1 χαιρ 3 -πολιτ 5 δισχιλιας /ϛ

1 Εὐρυλόχῳ: Cf. **2626**.1, **2627**.1, **2628**.1, **2629**.1, **2630**.1.
2–5 *l.* ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν δισχιλιῶν ὧν ἔσχε παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἡ. τὰς ἴσας ἀργυρίου δραχμάς (γίν.) κτλ.
3 *l.* ἐν τῷ -πολίτῳ.
4 The *arithmetikon katoikon* has been discussed most recently by R. Daniel and P. Sijpesteijn, ZPE 59 (1985) 47ff. Cf. C. Nelson, **2525** intr.; B. Kramer, D. Hagedorn, P. Hamb. III 209 introd.; cf. **2613**.5 n.

Translation

Athenodoros to Eurylochos, greetings and health! You did well to give Antonios the same sum of two thousand silver drachmas – 2000 dr. – instead of (replacing?) those which he had with him in the Herakleopolite (nome) from the *arithmetikon katoikon* account.

## 2653 Letter

P. 25250 Herakleopolites
13.3 x 16.6 cm. June 26, 9

Margins: upper 3.5, right ± 2.5, left 4, lower 1 cm. *Kollesis* 4 cm. from the left. Verso blank. The same hand as **2605**, **2614**, **2618**, **2634** and **2668**.
Athenodoros writes Soterichos about grain shipments.

Ἀθηνόδωρος Σωτηρίχω[ι] τῶι ἀδελφῶι
χαίρειν κ[α]ὶ ὑγιαίνειν· ἐπ{ε}ὶ τῇ Ἀπολλωνίου
τοῦ προσ[τ]άτου φάσει νεναύλωμαι πλοῖα
εἴ σοι συμ[φέ]ρει τετρακοσίας ἀρτάβας
5 [.. ἑτ]οίμας οὔσας· {η} ἐὰν λάβῃς τὴν ἐπισολ(ὴν)
[εὐθέ]ως μοι διασάφησον· τὰ γὰρ πλοῖα
[τ]ῇ γ̄ προσ[δέ]χου· καὶ σεα(υ)τοῦ ἐπιμέλου
[ἵ]ν' ὑγι(αίνῃς)·
ἔρρ(ωσο)



10 (ἔτους) κα Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ β̄

8 υγι

3 προσ[τ]άτου: This word is often attested during this period for the head of a club or guild (P. Mich. 243; SB 8267.5,17; P. Ryl. IV 580.7,10, etc.; San Nicolo, Vereinswesen II 57f.) However, it may also apply to any leader or head of any group: **1200**.15: οἱ προστάται καὶ σιτολόγοι; P. Oxy. II 299.4: προσ[τ]άτης of a village; P. Ryl. II 183.1: π. ἰδίων ὄνων, 183 a.2: π. ὀνηλασίου ὄνων.
φάσει: Olsson 17.15–16 n. cites parallels.
5 [(πυροῦ) ἑτ]οίμας?
7 [τ]ῇ γ̄: Since this is the day after this letter was written, Athenodoros cannot have been very far from Soterichos.

Translation

Athenodoros to his brother, Soterichos, greetings and good health. At the word from Apollonios I sent you – if it please you – ships with four hundred artabs (of wheat ?), since they were ready. If you receive this letter, please let me know it immediately. Expect the ships on the 3rd. Take care of yourself, so you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 21 of Caesar, Epeiph 2.

## 2654 Letter of Recommendation

P. 25237 Herakleopolites
31.2 x 14 cm. July 14, 6

Margins: upper 5.5, left 2, lower 15.7 cm. *Kollesis* 2 cm. from the left. On the upper left corner of the back are remnants of four line ends.
Philotas commends to Soterichos, the *dioecete*, a farmer named Ptoys who is bringing this letter to Soterichos. Philotas requests Soterichos's help in collecting the rental fees which certain unnamed people owe Ptoys for the right to graze their herds on his pasture land.
R. Hübner, P. Köln III 146 introd., was the first to recognize that payments for grazed pasture land such as one finds here, in P. Köln III 146, in P. Ryl. II 73 and in PSI IX 1057, are not restitution for damaged property but rather fees for contractually guaranteed grazing rights.
This letter belongs to the well known and often discussed genre of recommendation letters. Cf. Olsson, p. 61; C.W. Keyes, "The Greek Letter of Introduction", AJP 56 (1935) 28ff.; P. Ryl. IV 608; P. Oxy. I 32; K. Treu, "Christliche Empfehlungs-Schemabriefe", in: Zetesis, Album amicorum ... E. de Strycker, Antwerp 1973, 629ff.; A. Bowman, J.D. Thomas, Vindolanda: The Latin Writing-Tablets (= Britannia Monograph Series 4), London 1983, no. 22, introd.; H. Cotton, Documentary Letters of Recommendation (= Beitr. z. kl. Phil. 132), Cologne 1981.

Φιλώτας Σωτηρίχωι τῶι διοικητῇ πλεῖστα
χαίρειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν· Πτῶυς ὁ ἀπο-
διδούς σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔστιν μου ἡμέτερος
καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀντιγραφέως γεωργός· εὖ οὖν
5 ποιήσεις ἐκπράξας τοὺς ὀφ⟨ε⟩ίλντας αὐτῶι
εἰ̣ς̣ ἐ̣κ̣φόρια ὧν καταβέβρωκαν αὐτοῦ χλωρὸν
[ἴδ]ιον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτός σοι μετρεῖ τ' ἐκφόρια
Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀντιγραφέως· μὴ οὖν ἄλλως
[πο]⟨ι⟩ή̣σ̣ε̣ι[ς]· καὶ σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλου ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς)·
10 ἔρρ\ω/(σο)· (ἔτους) κδ Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ κ̄

vso: διοικης Σωτηρίχωι

9 υγτ

1 Σωτηρίχωι: The same Soterichos in **1201**.1?
1–2 Olsson 1.2 n. discusses Ptolemaic and Roman epistolary salutations and calls this particular one transitional.
2–3 Cf. P. Oxy. II 252, IV 746.3; P. Köln IV 267.3–8; P. Mert. II 62, for similar wordings.
3 Either μου or ἡμέτερος, but not both. The same phenomenon in BASP 1 (1979) 146 line 10; P. Amh. II 142.7.
6 ἐ̣κ̣φόρια: The fact that the word μετρεῖ is used in connection with the rental fees indicates that they were paid *in natura*. Cf. Hermann, Bodenpacht 99 (v. **2598**.7 n.); R. Hübner, P. Köln II 146, p. 100.
*l.* καταβέβρωκαν ⟨αἶγες / πρόβατα⟩ αὐτοῦ. On the termination -αν instead of -ασι see Mayser I,2, p. 84.
In the right margin here there are ink traces which look like *alpha* followed by a series of *chis*. They are most likely nothing more than doodles, pen trials or the result of cleaning the pen tip.
8 ἀντιγραφέως: See P. Pestman, Choachytes, pp. 356-357; A. Kazhdan, "ἀντιγραφεύς," Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Oxford 1991, 112, citing J. Bury, HSCP 21 (1910) 23-29.
11 *l.* διοικητῆι? Or is Philotas perhaps also *dioecete*? Normally, one would expect Σωτηρίχωι τῶι διοικητῆι as in Olsson no. 18.14. Cf. **2646**.44 n.

Translation

Philotas to the *dioecete*, Soterichos, many greetings and continual health. Ptoys who is bringing you this letter is the farmer of myself and Asklepiades, the accountant. Please be so good, therefore, as to collect the rental fees from those persons who owe him for the grass which they (*i.e.*, their livestock) have consumed. He himself will measure out to you the rental fees of Asklepiades, the accountant. Do not act contrary to this! And take care of yourself, so you stay well. Farewell. Year 24 of Caesar, Epeiph 20. Vso: *Dioecete* to Soterichos, or: To (the) *dioecete*, Soterichos.



## 2655 Letter

P. 25254 — Herakleopolites
27 x 10 cm. — 21/20

Margins: upper 2.3, left 1–1.5, lower 1.5 cm. Verso blank. Aphrodisios complains to Soteles about his laziness. Not only Aphrodisios but also others have been waiting for months for the delivery of certain goods which still have not arrived. Aphrodisios warns Soteles that until now he has held him in high repute, but unless he soon starts putting out his good name will be ruined.

Ἀφροδίσιος Σωτ[έλῃ χαί-]
ρειν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν διαλ[ήψει]
σε ἀγαθῇ εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐ[ν οὐ-]
δενὶ μ⟨ε⟩ίζονι πειρᾶν σ[...]
5 τοιοῦτον γεγονότα α.[...]
ρ̣ιστην ὀψόνια· τάδε ...[..]
ψ̣ο̣ν μοι ἃ{ς} ἐπεδέξου ἀπηγε[..]
σ̣εν μοι ὑ̣πὲρ Ἀδράστου εισκ[..]
...ν τούτῳ ..ια.() ἓξ κ[αὶ]
10 τοῦ ἐλαίου τουσ....· ἐπεὶ δ[ὲ]
οὐ βούλει τὸ ἔλαιον πέμ̣π̣ε̣ι̣[ν]
οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ πυροῦ τιμήν̣,
κομιομαι παρὰ Ἀθετος καὶ
ἔσῃ αὐτῶι ἐν τοιαύτηι διαλ̣ή̣ψει·
15 ἀπέσχες γὰρ πρὸ μηνῶν δύο
τὸ Ἀδράστου γράμμα καὶ ἐγὼ
ἀνθωμολογησάμην Πάτρω-
νι ἀπέχειν τὸν πυρὸν ὃ̣ν ε̣γ̣θ̣[..]
εἰδὼς ὅτι παντῶς σε δεῖ ἀπο-
20 δοῦναι πέμψομεν ταχε. πρὸς
τὴν ἀδελφὴν α.α.. διὰ τὸ [..]
εἰς Κόμα ἡμᾶς χωρίζεσθαι π[ρὸς] .//
ἡμέραν μίαν.
(ἔτους) ι Καίσ(αρος) .... ε̄

1 Σωτ[έλῃ: Cf. **2658**.1; **2657**.1,25.
2–3 Cf. LSJ *s.v.* διάλαμψις.
6–7 [γρά]ψον?, [πέμ]ψον?
6 *l.* ὀψώνια.
8–9 εἰς Κ[όμα] πέμψον τούτῳ *i.e.* Ἀδράστῳ ?
13 *l.* κομιοῦμαι.

*l.* Ἀθᾶτος? Athenodoros's nickname. This reading is more suitable than such others as παρὰ δὲ ἔτος.
19–20 ἀποδοῦναι *scil.* τὰ ὀψώνια.
20 *l.* τάχεως.
22–23 π[ρὸς] .// ἡμέραν μίαν: See **2609**.3 n.

Translation

Aphrodisios to Soteles, greetings. On the one hand, I have always had a good opinion of you. Since, on the other hand, there is no greater way of testing you as such .... salaries. Send (?) me that which you have received ... to me on behalf of Adrastos for ... six and the ... of oil. Since you do not wish to send either the oil or the price of the wheat I shall get them from Athas and you will enjoy such a (bad) reputation by him. For you received the letter from Adrastos already two months ago, and I promised Patron that I would take the wheat .... Knowing that it is entirely necessary for you to pay (the wages), we shall send (it) quickly to our sister ... because we are departing for Koma for one day. Year 10 of Caesar, .... 5.

## 2656 Letter

P. 25282 — Herakleopolites
Fg. A: 25 x 9 cm.
Fg. B: 8.3 x 9 cm.

Margins: upper 5.8, left 1, lower 3.4, right 2 cm. *Kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge. The handwriting is the same as that on **2660** and **2663**.
Herakleides writes to Soteles about an oil delivery which Athenodoros was supposed to send him.

Ἡρακλείδης Σωτέλῃ τῷ ἀδε\λ/(φῷ)
πλ⟨ε⟩ῖστα χαί(ρειν) καὶ ὑγιαίν⟨ε⟩ιν ὥσπερ
εὔχομαι· καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλέους πόλ⟨ε⟩ι
σοι ἐμνήσθην περὶ τ[οῦ ἡμῶ]ν
5 ἀνγίου τοῦ ἐλαίου οὗ ἐ.[.....]
μεν μοι Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ ἀδελφό(ς)·
καὶ σὺ οὖν καλῶς πο⟨ί⟩ησ⟨ε⟩ις μετ[ρεῖν]
ἐνταῦθα παρ' ἐμοῦ μετρει
δικαίῳ, κομισάμενος παρὰ
10 το[ῦ] αὐτοῦ μαχαιροφόρου τὸ
ἐπίσταλμα· μὴ οὖν ἄλλως
[ποή]σῃς· καὶ σὺ δὲ γράφεις
[πε]ρὶ ὧν ἂν θέλῃς· περὶ δὲ ἃς
[....]εως ἀνανκὰς σαιμεισον



15 [ ].ναι κωμίτην ... αδελφ
[ ]τοιμ.[
[ ]..ειν. διὰ
Πετεαρμώτην· καὶ σεα-
[τοῦ ἐπιμ(έλου) ἵν' ὑγιαί]νεις.
20 ἔρ⟨ρ⟩ωσ[(ο)]
[ ] Φαμενὼθ ιγ¯

vso: Σωτέλῃ

1 Ἡρακλείδης: Cf. **2651**.1 n.
Σωτέλῃ: Cf. **2658**.1, **2655**.1, **2657**.1,25.
2 Pap. χα
5 *l.* ἀγγείου.
8 *l.* μέτρῳ.
10 μαχαιροφόρου: Cf. **2603**.12,16, **2639**.9–10, **2646**.18.
14 *l.* ἀναγκὰς σήμανον.
15 *l.* κωμήτην.
19 Since there is room for five letters at the most in the lacuna, the formula must have been extremely abbreviated.

Translation

Herakleides to his brother, Soteles, many greetings and health, as I pray (for it). Even in Herakleopolis I reminded you of (our?) jar of oil which ... Athenodoros, our brother, ... to me. Please be so kind, therefore, to get (the oil) from me measured out in just measure, after you have received the order from the same police officer. Do not act contrary (to my wishes)! Write me about whatsoever you wish ... on account of Petearmotes. And (take care of) yourself (so that you stay) healthy. Farewell. (Year ... of Caesar), Phamenoth 13. Vso: To Soteles.

## 2657 Letter

P. 25288 — Herakleopolites
20 x 10 cm. — 17/16

Margins: upper 4.5, left 1.5, lower 2 cm. Semthoembes writes to the two *epistatai*, Petesuchos and Soteles, the latter of whom is already known from preceding letters in the Athenodoros archive.

Σεμθοεμβ\ῆ/(ς) Πετεσούχωι [καὶ Σωτέλῃ]
τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιστάταις χαίρειν καὶ δ[ιὰ παντὸς]
ὑγαίνειν· χωρισθ⟨ε⟩ὶς ἀπό σου καὶ [ ]

τον τοῦ Σεμθοικ.[ ]...[
5 συνεσφραγισμεν[ ].ι ὑπὸ α[
τοῦ υἱοῦ σου εισ.[ ].ροσα[
πηδησασ[ ]σου απ[
μεγάλως [ ].αιτω[
μεταδεδωκ[ ] ἐ̣πὶ τῆ[ς
10 περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ [ ὑπομ]ν̣ήματ[ος
θ.μυ μὴ λάθες ὑπο[ ]..[
ἐὰν μὴ οὖν ...ιτε αὐτὸν ἐπιτρ[
παραστῆσαι μετῷ ἀν\δ/(ρῶν) ἕως ἀρτ\α/(βῶν) ε π[........]
μηκεν τὸ λάχ\α/(νον) παρακάλεσο̣ν Πετε[σοῦχον]
15 ἅμα σοι ἐλθ⟨ε⟩ῖν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐμὴ[ν ........]
πειθανάγκην ἀνάγκασον αὐ[τὸν ἵνα ἀσ-]
φάλεια μεγάλη γένηται καὶ εἰρήν[η μέν̣η̣]
εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ αὐ[τ- .......]
[...]π̣ροσωπί̣ᾳ καλῆι τούτων ..[........]
20 [ἀ]ντιφώνησίν μοι γράψατε ..[.........]
ὑμεῖν τὸ γράμμα·
ἔρρωσθε
(ἔτους) ιδ [Καίσαρος

vso: Πετεσούχῳ καὶ
25 Σ̣ω̣τέλῃ τοῖς ἐπι(στάταις)

1 Σεμθοε̣μβ\ῆ/(ς) is apparently an unattested name.
[Σωτέλῃ]: Cf. **2655**.1, **2656**.1, **2658**.1.
3 *l.* χωρισθεὶς ἀφῷ ὑμῶν.
19 [εὐ]π̣ροσωπία?: Cf. P. Tebt. I 19.12, for the verb εὐπροσωπέω. The substantive, otherwise once attested (see LSJ *s.v.*), would be new in the documentary papyri, if this is, in fact, the correct restoration here. Cf. Wm. Brashear, "New Magical and Divinatory Texts from Berlin", in: M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, edd., Ancient Magic and Ritual Power (Proc. of the International Congress "Magic in the Ancient World", Lawrence, Kansas, August 20–24, 1991), Leiden 1995, 214–215, for another unattested προσοπέω-compound word.
25 Pap. ε[illegible]



## 2658 Letter

P. 25277 Herakleopolites
23 x 10.3 cm. July 24, 16

Margins: upper 4.5, lower 6.3, right 1.5–2 cm. *Kollesis* 1.5 cm. from the right edge. Verso blank.
Evidently one of Soteles's progeny writes to his father requesting his immediate presence, since the farmers seem to have seized something belonging to him.

[.......].[.]... Σωτέληι τῶι πατρὶ
[πλεῖστα] χ̣αίρειν καὶ ἐρωιμέν{εν}ῳ
[διευτυ]χ̣εῖν παραιτησάμενος
[......] παραγίνου· οἱ γὰρ γεορ-
5 [γοὶ ....].αν ἔχονταί μου· εἰ δέ μὴ
[.......]ων υ (ἀρτάβας)· οὐκ ἔχει σε τυ-
[χόντα π]αρὰ Στοῖτος καὶ Ναaραῦ-
[τος πολλά]κ̣ι̣ς· πρὸ δὲ πάντων χα-
[ριεῖ το]ῦ σώματος ἵ⟨ν⟩ῴ ὑγιαίνῃς·
10 [.......] ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) ιδ Ἐπεὶφ λ̅.

1 Σωτέλῃ; Cf. **2656**.1 n.
2 *l.* ἐρρωμένῳ.
4–5 *l.* γεωργοί: The first *gamma* is corrected from *sigma*.
5 [οἰκ]ί̣αν?, [χω]ρ̣αν μου?
6 pap. [illegible]
7 Στοῖτος: *addendum onomasticis*? Or is it simply a variant/misspelling of Στοτοῆς?
8 ]ν̣ο̣ς?
9 Cf. **2418**.12 n., where other occurrences of this idiom are cited.

Translation

N.N. to his father, Soteles, (many) greetings and continued prosperity in health. Since I asked you the favor … get here! For my farmers have my …. If (you do) not, then … 400 artabs. You are not (often) at Stois's and Naaraus's. Above all take care of your body that you stay well. Farewell. Year 14, Epeiph 30.

## 2659 Letter

P. 25389 Herakleopolites
26.5 x 9.5 cm.

Margins: upper 4, left 2, lower 7.2 cm. The same writing as on **2649** and **2662.**
Asklas writes to Soterichos mainly for the purpose of greeting friends and rela-

tives. Asklas had recently been to Alexandria, and something there evidently reminded him he ought to write to his friends back home.

[᾿Α]ς̣κλᾶς Σω[τηρίχῳ τῷ ]
[π]λεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ διὰ πα[ντὸς ὑγιαί-]
[ν]ειν ὡς εὔχομαι· γεν[όμενος ...... ἐν]
᾿Αλεξανδρείᾳ ἀνανκα̣[ῖον ἡγησάμην]
5 διὰ γραπτοῦ ἀσπάσασθ[αί σε καὶ .....]
διὰ παντὸς περὶ τῆς σωτη[ρίας σου ἐρωτᾶν]
ὅπως μὴ{ι} ἀγω[νιῶ ]
ω̣ς̣ δι᾿ ἐστιν μετὰ τὸ ..[ ]
ἀσπάζου ῾Ηρακλει[ ]
10 ῾Ηρᾶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ [ ]
Πτολλᾶν καὶ .. [
πρ[ὸ] πάντων κα..[ ἵν᾿ ὑ-]
γιαίνῃς ὃ δὲ μέγιστον [ἡγοῦμαι·]
ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους) .[ ]
15 τὴν δὲ συνεσφραγισμ̣[ένην ἐπιστολὴν]
ἀπόδος ᾿Απολλῶτι τ[ῶι ]
vso.: Σωτηρ̣ί̣(χῳ)

1 ᾿Ασκλᾶς = ᾿Ασκληπιάδης?
Σω[τηρίχῳ = **2653**, **2654**.1,11.
3 *e.g.* γε[νομένου τοῦ δεῖνος], γε[νόμενος σήμερον].
4 *l.* ἀναγκα̣[ῖον: Cf. **2619**.4–5 n.
6–7 Another possible restoration might be περὶ τῆς σωτη[ρίας μου δηλοῦν] ὅπως μὴ ἀγω[νιᾷς.
11 Πτολλᾶν: Cf. **2602**.11,18, **2621**.8.
15 τὴν δὲ συνεσφραγισμ̣[ένην ἐπιστολήν]: See **2628**.3 n.

Translation

Asklas to Soterichos ... many greetings and continued health, as I pray. While (I was recently?) in Alexandria, (I regarded) it necessary to greet you in writing ... and above all (to inquire?) about your health, so I?/you? might not be worried .... Greet Heraklei-, ... , brother Heras, ..., and Ptollas and .... Above all ... (so that) you stay healthy which (I consider) the most important thing of all. Farewell. Year .... Give the sealed letter to Apollos .... Vso: To Soterichos.



## 2660 Letter

P. 25391 Herakleopolites
23.5 x 12.7 cm. Aug. 14, 1 A.D.

Margins: upper 4, left 1.5–2.5, right 1, lower 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 6 cm. from the left edge. Same hand as **2656** and **2663**.
Heraklas writes to his father, expressing his concern about the irrigation. He admonishes his father to make sure the fields are not left unwatered.

῾Ηρακλᾶ[ς τ]ῶ̣ι̣ θειωτάτωι πατρὶ πλεῖστα
χαί[ρει]ν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐρρῶσθαι.
καὶ ἄλλα [σοι] ἔγραψα περὶ τοῦ χωματίου
ὅπως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ποιήσῃς τὸν
5 χοῦν ἀναβληθῆναι, μὴ τύχηι ἡμᾶς
καὶ α̣...δε̣..θε ἀπολέσαι· διὸ καλῶς
πο⟨ι⟩ήσεις, ἢ ἐὰν λάβῃς τὴν ἐπιστολήν,
εμ[ ].......... εὖ πο⟨ι⟩ήσῃς
[ ] ἐὰν δὲ
10 χρείαν ἔ[χῃς] χαλκῶν ἀλλήσεις ἐξ [ο]ἴκ[ο]υ̣·
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὁ ῏Ωρο̣ς̣ εὕρῃ ἀνθρώπους,
῾Ερμᾶτι εἶπον κα⟨ὶ⟩ παραστήσει σοι· νόμησον δὲ
ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐργα̣σθὶς τὸ χῶμα τοῦτο κιν-
δυνεύσει τὸ ἔδαφος ἀβροχῆσαι σὺν τῷ καὶ
15 τὸ περυσινὸν \χῶμα/ ἀπολέσαι· διὸ ἐρωτηθεὶς
μὴ ληρήσῃς· πρὸ δὲ πάντ̣ω̣[ν] ἐπιμέ\λ/(ου) ἵν᾿ ὑγι(αίνῃς)·
ἔρρ\ω/(σο) [(ἔτους)] λ̣ Καίσαρος Με\σ/(ορὴ) κ̄ᾱ.

vso.: τῶι πατρί

16 υγ+

1 *l.* θειοτάτωι: Cf. **2600**.3 n., **2631**.1.
3 ἄλλα γράμματα is meant.
χωματίου: LSJ cites only two attestations of this word.
7 *l.* ὅταν: Cf. Olsson 7.13–14 n.
10 *l.* ἀλλάσσεις.
11 ὁ ῏Ωρο̣ς: Cf. **2649**.7 n. for bibliography on names with the definite article.
12 ῾Ερμᾶτι: Cf. **2634**.4,11 and **2622**.4,17 where a certain Hermas also appears.
*l.* νόμισον.
13 *l.* ἐργασθέν.
16 μὴ ληρήσῃς: Cf. Olsson 56.21: μὴ ο(ὖ)ν ληρήσῃς τὸν ἐκτιναγμόν σου.

Translation

Heraklas to his most divine father, many greetings and continued health. I wrote you another (letter) about the dam so that you might do everything you possibly can to accomplish erecting the wall of earth, in order that the ... not be destroyed. You would do well, either when you receive this letter .... You would do well .... If you need money, get some changed out of the household cash. If Horos does not find any men, tell Hermas, and he will come to your aid. Remember: if the dike is not made, then the land is in danger of being left unwatered, with the result that even last year's dike is destroyed. Therefore, since you have been asked, do not make any silly arguments! Above all, take care of yourself so you stay healthy. Farewell. (Year) 30 of Caesar, Mesore 21. Vso: To father.

## 2661 Letter

P. 25234 Herakleopolites
31.4 x 10.8 cm. June–July 12

Margins: upper 0.8, left 1.7 cm.
The layout of the present text is not at all clear. Preceding the body of the main communication (lines 10–34) is a short note (lines 1–9) which looks – and sounds – like an afterthought, penned onto the papyrus soon after the main text was written. Yet it seems unusual that such a large upper margin (8 cm.) would have been left gaping above the main text – almost as if on purpose.
Sosibios writes about the shipment of various commodities.

περὶ τοῦ μέλιτος καὶ οὐ-
κ ἔλαβον καὶ ἐπ̣έ̣σ̣εισα αὐτού̣[ς],
Σωτήριχ\ο/(ν) καὶ Ἰσχυρᾶν.
ἐμοῦ δ' ἐθέλοντος καταν-
5 τῆσαι πρός σε πρὸς τὸ
ἐπισκέψασθαί σε μετέ-
λαβον παρὰ τῶν περὶ
Φ̣ιλέρωτα ὅ̣τ̣ι̣.. ὡς
ἔ̣σχηκα̣. ὑγίαινε.

———

10 Σ̣ω̣σ̣ιβίου
γίνωσκε τὸ πλοῖ⟨ο⟩ν τῇ κ̄ε̄ ὄφιλε
παραγενόμενα· καὶ ἠνδρα-
γ̣αθήσαμεν μέχρι ο̣ὗ ἐγβάλεται
τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα·



15 οἴνου κερ\ά/(μια) ιε, ὄξου β¯, τρυγί\α/(ς) β,
ἐλαί(ου) μετρ\η/(ταὶ) η, ξενικο⟨ῦ⟩ ἐσφρ\α/(γισμένη) α,
φασήλο[(υ)] καὶ ἐρέγμ\α/(τος) κοιεκ.( ) ῑ
ὧν κ⟨ε⟩ῖται εἰς τ̣ὸ̣ν ὅ̣ρμ̣(ον) κο\ι/( ) δ
...ας Ἀρσινοιτι\κ̣/( ) δ \.ξ̄/ γ
20 χοῖροι γ̄, κ..αρ[.].ιν\α/( ) ξς·
τό⟨ν⟩ δὲ τόμιον οὐκ ἔλαβον·
ἐστέγασται εἰς τὴν σκην\ὴ/(ν) τ(οῦ) π\λ/(οίου)
ἰτέινα ξύ\λ/(α) δ· γράφεις δέ μ̣\οι/
παραλαβεῖν ε ὥστ' ἔλαβον
25 καὶ ἐλάινα πεπρασμένα δ,
ἄλλα ἐλάινα, ἀντὶ ὧν μοι
γράφεις ἕνδεκα, δέκα·
παρέλαβον ὄξο(υ) κερ\ά/(μια) ιβ,
τὰ κ⟨ε⟩ίμεν\α/ ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ δίχηλ\α/
30 β¯ ὁμ\οί/(ως) ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ καὶ τῆς
κορμο(ῦ)· τὸ δὲ πιττάκιον
τοῦ μέλιτος συνεσφραγισμ\έ/(νον)·
πολλὰ γὰρ παρήδρευσα·
καὶ σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέλο(υ) ἵν' ὑγιαίν\ῃ/(ς) [ὃ]
35 τ̣ῇ μέγι(στον) ἡγ(οῦμαι)· (ἔτους) ιη Καίσαρος Ἐ̣π̣[⟨ε⟩ὶ]φ .¯

vso: παρὰ Σωσιβίου

35 μεγ ηγō

1 μέλιτος: Cf. **2600**.1 n.
1–2 οὐκ: W. Crönert, Memoria Graeca Herculanensis, Leipzig 1903, 14, and Mayser I,1, 220f., discuss such unorthodox word divisions.
3 Ἰσχυρᾶς: Cf. **2635**.1, where a certain Ischyras also appears.
8 Φιλέρωτα: Cf. **2634**.11, where a Phileros also appears.
11 *l.* γίγνωσκε τὸ πλοῖον: This boat is briefly discussed by L. Casson, Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World, Princeton 1986, 134.128, 157.1, 159.1. Otherwise for ships and see-faring in antiquity see: A. Göttlicher, Die Schiffe in der Antike. Eine Einführung in die Archäeologie der Wasserfahrzeuge, Berlin 1985; J. Hausen, Schiffbau in der Antike, Herford 1979 = Dissertation, Aachen 1982; E. de St.-Denis, "Les types des navires dans l'antiquité", Rev. de Phil. 48 (1974) 20; D. Wachsmuth, Πόμπιμος ὁ δαίμων, Diss. Berlin 1967, pp. 51–53 (bibliography); H. Hauben in: Congr. 18 II 250f.; M. Merzagora, Aegyptus 10 (1929) 105–148; A.J.M. Meyer-Termeer, Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht, Zutphen 1978; F. Meijer, A History of Seafaring in the Classical World, London 1986; A. Höckmann, Die antike Seefahrt, Munich 1985.
11–12 *l.* ὤφειλε παραγενέσθαι.
13 *l.* ἐκβάλεται.
15 On wine and vinegar see Forbes III 70ff.; N. Kruit, ZPE 90 (1992) 267–268.

16 Pap. ελαι̅: On olives and the production of olive oil cf. Sandys 72–82; Produccion y comercio del aceite en la antiguedad (2 congreso intern. Sevilla 24–28, Febr. 1982) (*non vidi*); A. Arambarri, La oleicultura antigua. El olivo. Su historia. El aceite: del pisado a la prensa de viga, 1992 (*non vidi*); Margaret Visser, Much Depends on Dinner, London 1986, 224–258.
ξενικο⟨ῦ⟩: Apparently no abbreviation mark; cf. P. Lond. 236.5: σπαθίον ἓν ἐσφραγισμένον.

17, 18 κοιεκ.(), κοι() *l.* χοινικες? Sandys 10.44 n., cites the essential bibliography on metrology, *e.g.* R.P. Duncan-Jones, ZPE 21 (1976) 43–52; *id.*, Chiron 9 (1979) 347–350; J. Shelton, ZPE 24 (1977) 55–67.

18 κ⟨ε⟩ιται εἰς τ̣ὸν ὅρ̣μ̣(ον): More logical and appropriate would be ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ; cf. **2669**.2 n.

20 χοῖροι: Cf. M. Müller in: CPR X 59.4 n. and Schnebel 328, both discussing "suiculture" in Egypt.

22 σκην\ή/(ν): "Shelter–cabin", (Casson, *op. cit.* 165).
Pap. τ¯

23 ἰτέινα: Cf. Aegyptus 69 (1989) 35.27, SB 5807.3.

28 ὄξο(υ): The abbreviation mark is illegible.

29 δίχηλ\α/: Cf. **37**.4: δίχηλ\α/ ξύλα "forked timbers". See on wood and timber in antiquity: N. Lewis, "On Timber and Nile-Shipping", TAPA 91 (1960) 137–141; M. Müller in: CPR X 59 notes; R. Meiggs, Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World, Oxford 1982; W. Speyer, "Holz", RAC 15 (1992) 87–116; N. Baum, Arbres et arbustes de l'Egypte ancienne (= Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 31) Louvain 1988; A. Nibbi, Discussions in Egyptology 28 (1994) 35–52, citing further bibliography.

30–31 *l.* τοῦ κορμοῦ.

31 Pap. κορμο¯

34 Pap. επιμελο¯

35 *l.* δή.

### Translation

Concerning the honey: I have not received it, yet I have paid them – Soterichos and Ischyras. While I was wanting to come to pay you a visit (or: "to have you examine this"), I received notice from the agents of Phileros ... that I have it. Stay healthy. (From) Sosibios. The ship should have been here on the 25th. We exerted ourselves until the things recorded here below were unloaded: 15 *keramia* of wine, 2 of vinegar, 2 of lees, 8 *metretai* of oil, 1 sealed (*metretes*) of foreign (oil), and 10 *choinices* of beans and bruised corn, of which 4 *choinices* are in the harbor ... 3 Arsinoite ..., 3 piglets, and 65 .... I have not received the castrated pig. Under cover on the ship's deck are 4 willow logs. You write to me to take 5, so I can have them, as well as 4 (logs) of olive wood which have been sold. There are another ten (logs) of olive wood, instead of the eleven that you wrote me. I have taken the 12 *keramia* of vinegar. Lying in the harbor are 2 bifurcated logs; like-wise in the harbor ... of a log. The receipt for the honey is sealed. I have been very careful! Take care of yourself so you stay well, which is my greatest desire. Year 18 of Caesar, Epeiph .... Vso: From Sosibios.



## 2662 Official Letter

P. 16900 Herakleopolites
18 x 12 cm. *ca.* 7 – 4

Margins: upper 3, lower 3.5, negligible right margin; *kollesis* almost flush with the right edge of the papyrus. The script is the same as that on **2649** and **2659.** Athenodoros, in his capacity as overseer of Asklepiades's affairs, writes to the *strategos* (of the Herakleopolite nome), complaining that Athenion (who also appears in **2605**) is impeding the collection of grain-taxes from the farmers. He appeals to the *strategos* to intervene and appends a list of the outstanding amounts of grain arranged according to toparchies and kleroi.

[ ±8 ] .ι στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων
[παρ' Ἀθ]η̣νοδώρου φροντιστοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Διονυσίου·
[τοῦ χρό]ν̣ο̣υ τῆς κατασπορᾶς παρεκτρέχοντος καὶ οἰκε̣ι̣-
[ ±5 Ἀ]θηνίωνος Καίσαρος ἐμποδίζοντος τῇ τῶν
5 [δημοσίων]..... εἰσχορηγήσει, ἐὰν φαίνηται ἐπ̣ι̣στα-
[λῆναι ]..ο̣ν̣ τ̣ὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπ⟨ε⟩ίγοντα τοῖς κατα
[ ]... ὅπως παρὰ μὲν τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ κα-
[θήκοντα δη]μ̣ό̣σ̣ι̣α̣ λάβωσι, τῶν δὲ προστατῶν τῶν εἰσ̣-
[ ] τ̣ὰ̣ς̣ καθη[κο]ύσας ἀποχ̣ὰς πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν εἰς
10 [ τρ]απῆναι. εἶναι δὲ τὸ κατ[.].ισμ̣ένα δ̣α̣μ̣αι
[ ]ς̣, Περὶ Πόλιν· (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) Ἀν, κριθῆς (ἀρτ.) ρ, ὀλύρ\α/(ς)(ἀρτ.) Σλ
[ ]υ̣ Μέσης· (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ν, κριθῆς ⟨(ἀρτ.)⟩ νς, Πτολεμαίου, Πέρα·
[ ]νίου, Ἀγήματος· (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) ν, Ἡρακλείου, Περὶ Τεχθῶι·
[ ὀλύρα]ς (ἀρτ.) χοε, λαχάνου (ἀρτ.) ρε, Ἀπολλωνίου, [Πε]ρ̣ὶ
Βουσῖριν·
15 [ Περὶ Τι]λῶθιν· (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) υ, κριθῆς (ἀρτ.) φ, ὀλύρας (ἀρτ.) υ,
Σαραπίωνος,
[ ]...ν, λαχ\ά/(νου)(ἀρτ.) κ, κριθῆς (πυροῦ) χ ὀλ\/(ύρας) ιε, ὥστ' εἶναι
[ (πυρ.)(ἀρτ.) .]φοε, κριθῆς ωνς, ὀλύ̣[ρα]ς Ἀ.ε, λαχ\ά/(νου) Σνε.
Σκα

1 στρατηγῶι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων: J.G. Whitehorne in: Congr. 16, 427–428, lists nome *strategoi* holding other offices concurrently with the *strategeia*. Cf. Oertel, Liturgie 292.

2 Ἀθ]ηνοδώρου φροντιστοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Διονυσίου: Cf. **2605** and **2664**. Here we learn the name of Asklepiades's father.

4 Ἀ]θηνίωνος: In **2605**.6 the same Athenion is φορολόγος.
Καίσαρος: Cf. P. Lond. 256a.1 (p. 96) = Wilcken, Chrest. 344.1; P. Lond. II 256d.6, where a certain Faustus, an imperial slave, is likewise involved with the distribution of seed grain to the farmers. Cf. **2605**.6 n.

5 εἰσχορηγήσει: *addendum lexicis*.
8 *l.* παρὰ δὲ τῶν προστατῶν: Προσταταὶ γεωργῶν are known from contemporary documents (P. Vindob. Tandem 10.37) whose office is evidently sometimes combined with that of the *sitologos* (**1200**.15).
8–9 εἰσ[πρασσόντων]?
9–10 εἰς [ἄσπορον ἐκτρ]απῆναι? Cf. P. Ryl. 133.22, for this expression.
10 *l.* τὸ κατὰ ⟨τὰ⟩ εἰθισμένα?
11 Περὶ Πόλιν: This toparchy is attested, for example, in **1753**.1,10, **2730**.4; P. Tebt. 838.5, 986.3.
ὀλύρ\α/(ς): Cf. **2391**.4 n.
12 Μέσης: This toparchy is attested in **2438**.22; P. Hels. I 29.35. Cf. Falivene 206.
Πέρα: A toparchy; cf. **2432**.15; P. Hels. I 11.11, 14.8, etc.
13 Ἀγήματος: A toparchy; cf. **2370**.37 and P. Hels. I 6.
Περὶ Τεχθῶι: A heretofore unattested toparchy. In the Ptolemaic era, Techtho lay in the Koites toparchy (cf. P. Hib. I, p. 8, II 218 introd.; **2434**.2–13 n. and BGU XIV, p. 222). By the time **2662** was written, Techtho's importance had evidently increased to the extent that it merited becoming government seat for the surrounding district.
14 [Πε]ρ̣ὶ Βουσῖριν: A toparchy; cf. P. Hels. I 32.4 n.
15 Περὶ Τ̣ι]λῶθιν: Cf. **1742**.2, **2438**.55, etc.
17 Since some of the data are missing, a precise calculation of the totals given is impossible here. However, as far as the figure for barley is concerned, the sum of 856 artabs is correct (100 + 56 + 500 + 200 = 856).

### Translation

(To N.N.), *strategos* and (person) in charge of the taxes, (from) Athenodoros, overseer of Asklepiades, son of Dionysios. Since the time of sowing is soon going to be over and .... Athenion of Caesar's household is hindering the delivery of (state seed grain?), if it so please you, order ... the situation is urgent ... to those (in charge of ...) so that on the one hand they get the tax dues from the farmers, and on the other hand the accustomed receipts from the tax-collecting *prostatai*, so that nothing be left unsown. These are the customary ...: Peri Polin (toparchy): 1050 artabs of wheat, 100 artabs of barley, 230 artabs of caffre-corn ... Middle (toparchy): 50 artabs of wheat, 56 artabs of barley. (From the) Ptolemaios (kleros). Pera (toparchy): ... Agema (toparchy): 50 artabs of wheat. (From the) Herakleios (kleros). Peri Techthoi (toparchy): ... 675 artabs (of caffre-corn), 105 artabs of vegetable (seed). (From the) Apollonios (kleros). Peri Busirin (toparchy): ... Peri Tilothin (toparchy): 400 artabs of wheat, 500 artabs of barley, 400 artabs of caffre-corn. (From the) Sarapion (kleros) ... 20 artabs of vegetable (seed), 200 of barley and wheat, 15 of caffre-corn. The result is a total of ... 575 artabs of wheat, 856 of barley, 1..5 of caffre-corn, (and) 255 of vegetable (seed).



## 2663 Letter

P. 25271 — Herakleopolites
13.3 x 16.6 cm. — Dec. 19, 9

The papyrus has been cut off and is missing an indeterminate amount from the top. Margins: right: negligible, left 1.2, lower 2.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3.7 cm. from the left. The same hand as that on **2643**. Verso blank.

Although the names of both the epistolographer and addressee are lost, the appearance of Soterichos who is known from the Athenodoros correspondence makes the attribution to this archive almost certain. While the main gist of the letter concerns humdrum details of daily life, one detail sticks out above all the others and particularly piques our curiosity. In lines 9–10 the writer chides his correspondent for not writing him anything about Isis Lochias – and leaves the matter at that.

Although Isis Lochias is not otherwise attested in Egypt, the epithet is not surprising since Isis was revered as protectrice of pregnant women in Egypt since pharaonic times. It would be interesting to know the background story for this admonishment. Was a festival imminent for which preparations had to be made? Or was it a birth that was being anticipated, with propitiations, sacrifices and rituals which had to be/had been performed? Was a separate, entire temple or shrine involved? If so, where was it located? Or was Isis Lochias worshipped as σύνναος θεός with various other deities in one larger temple? – questions to which we will probably never learn the answer.

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[ ± 9 ] διὰ Ἀδράστου προστάτου Τιλώθεως ἐ̣ὰ̣ν ..σαι κριθη
traces προσήμανόν μοι ὅπως ἑαυτοῖς συντύχωμεν—
επε[ ±7 Σωτ]ήριχος μετῆ̣[λθ]ε̣ ἔσ[τ]αι βουλεῦσαί πως ἐὰν δύνῃ προ-
ἀποστεῖλαί τινα πρὸς ειασερον \τὸν ..λινον / χάριν τῶν ἐδαφῶν τοῦ
5 οἴκου· ὁ παρ' ἐμὲ ἐγλήμπτωρ ἐπ' ἐμβ[ά]σει ἐστίν· φοβοῦμαι
αὐτὸν [ἐ]π⟨ε⟩ὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς αὐτοῦ μισθώσεως·
ἡ γὰρ μίσθωσις αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ κβ (ἔτους)· ἔστιν δὲ ἐὰν δύνῃ
προαρπάσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ Κερκῆ̣ν̣ πρ̣ὸ̣ τ̣ο̣ῦ̣ καὶ —-
..ρον ἀ̣φθῆναι, ἐπεὶ εἰς μέρη μεμίσθωται· περὶ τῆς
10 Ἴσιδος Λοχιάδος οὐδέν μοι σεσήμανκάς· τί σοι γέγονε
πρὸς Ἀντίγονον; τὰ δ' ἄλλα σεα⟨υ⟩τοῦ ἐπιμέ\λ/(ου) ἵν' ὑγι(αίνῃς) ὃ δὴ μέγι(στον)
ἡγοῦμαι· ἔρρωσο· (ἔτους) κβ Καίσαρος Χοιὰχ κδ¯

11 υγ͵ μεγ

1 προστάτου: For the προστάτης τῆς κώμης see Oertel, Liturgie 384; P. Meyer, P. Hamb. I 35 introd.

2 *l.* αὐτοῖς.

3,7 ἐὰν δύνῃ: See Gignac, Morphology 384 and 384.1, on this second person singular form.

5 *l.* ἐκλήμπτωρ.

ἐπ' ἐμβ[ά]σει ἐστίν: This expression is probably an idiomatic one here meaning something like "encroaching", "is on our doorstep", or "will soon be upon us" – in other words, "threatening us with his approach or arrival".

8 Κερκὴν: So far, the only locale of this name is in the Arsinoite nome – unless this is a heretofore unknown, homonymous village in the Herakleopolite nome.

10 Ἴσιδος Λοχιάδος: This epithet is attested for Isis in an inscription published by J. Cormack, Annual of the British School at Athens 41 (1946) 105–106, with ample discussion. In addition to the literature he cites, see J. Bergman, "Isis", LdÄ III 194, and Hopfner, Plutarch, *passim*, on Isis's function as divine protectrice of child-bearing women; Gr. Kruse, "Locheia", "Lochias", RE 13,1, 946, on this epithet and related words; S.G. Cole, ZPE 55 (1984) 243. 62, on the epithets "Lochia" and "Eulochia;" J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3642.16 n.

See G. Fecht, Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur (= Ägyptologische Forschungen 21), Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1960, 106 § 200 and nn. 330, 331, and Cormack, *op. cit.*, 106, on a similar formation: Isis Mochias.

Lochias was also the name of a promontory on the eastern side of Alexandria's greater port. Cf. Fraser I 22–23, II 60–61; Calderini, Dizionario I,1, 126–127.

*l.* σεσήμαγκας: Mayser I,2, p. 194, notes the same perfect stem in the roughly contemporary **1848**.18, **1874**.14. Cf. Jannaris, p. 275 *s.v.*

Translation

... through Adrastos, *prostates*. If ..., let me know in advance so that we may meet up with them. Since (?) ... Soterichos has arrived, it will be possible to plan – provided you are able – how one may dispatch someone in advance to ... the ... for the house's foundations. My contractor is on (our) doorstep. I am afraid of him, since the (allotted) time for his rent contract has expired – his rent contract was valid until the 22nd year. It is possible – if you are able – to anticipate him and to seize the ... near Kerke, since he has (only) rented it in part. About Isis Lochias you have told me nothing! How is the situation between you and Antigonos? Otherwise, take care of yourself – that is our greatest concern. Farewell! Year 22 of Caesar, Choiach 24.

## 2664 Letter

P. 25287 Herakleopolites
13.5 x 14.7 cm. July 11, 4

The papyrus is broken off along the top. Margins: left: 2.5, right: negligible, lower: 8 cm. Same hand as **2613** and **2645**. Verso blank.

The entire document (what little is preserved) seems to be a *brouillon* or idle jotting, consisting of nothing more than a run-of-the-mill epistolary opening formula immediately succeeded by a just as banal salutatory formula. The sole interest of this scrap lies in the fact that it once again attests Athenodoros as manager of Asklepiades's affairs in the Herakleopolite nome, this time with a definite date; cf. **2605** and **2662**.



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[ ὑπὲρ Μέμ-]
φεως ....[ ]
Ἀθηνόδωρος φροντιστὴς τῶν ἐν τῶ[ι Ἡρακλε-]
οπολίτηι Ἀσκληπιάδου πλεῖστα χαίρειν -----
5 πρὸ δὲ [τῶ]ν ὅλων ἐπιμέλου σεατοῦ ἵν' ὑγιαί-
νῃς·
ἔρρ\ω/(σο)
(ἔτους) κς Καίσαρος Ἐπεὶφ ιζ¯

1–2 *l.* ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν Ἡρακ[λεοπολίτου? preceded by the name and title of a nome official?

3 Ἀθηνόδωρος φροντιστής: If, in fact, a nome official is writing to Athenodoros then one should read Ἀθηνοδώρῳ φροντιστῇ. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the official's sole purpose in writing Athenodoros was to wish his correspondent good health. Hence, one is probably justified in leaving the text just as it is – a pastiche of epistolary formulae.

Translation

... of the (Herakleopolite nome above) Memphis (?) ... Athenodoros, overseer of the affairs of Asklepiades in the Herakleopolite (nome) many greetings. Above all take care of yourself so that you stay healthy. Farewell. Year 26 of Caesar, Epeiph 17.

## 2665 Letter

P. 25155 Herakleopolites
24.8 x 13.8 cm. 28/27

Margins: upper 1.5 (originally 4 cm., before the last four lines were added, left 2.5, right 1.5–3.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3 cm. from the right edge. The papyrus has been cut off at the bottom. The writing is the same as that on **1209** – reproduced in Schubart, Abb. 23.

Tryphaina writes to her son, Asklepiades, reporting on the condition of various fields some of which were either only partially flooded or else not at all. Since their flooding and covering with the rich Nile silt was prerequisite for a good harvest, Tryphaina fears imminent financial ruin. She momentarily digresses from these matters to discuss some articles of clothing, but soon she returns to the more pressing agricultural matters.

This letter does not belong to the Athenodoros archive but to a smaller, private archive of letters published as **1203–1209** = Olsson, nos. 1–7.

19 τοιοῦτο ἔτος Ἀπο̣λλῶς ἀδελφὸς
20 ἀδ[ε]λφὸν ... πεπομφ.[]... τὰ αὐτ[..]
21 Ἀφροδ[..] ἵν[α] μὴ ἀκούῃ πε[ρὶ] τῶν .[
22 ..οκό̣των . ιρ\ω̣̣/( ) καὶ τῶι ἀδε\λ/(φῶι) [διὰ τῶν]. \ἐπ[ι]βλημα̣/[
Τρύφαινα Ἀσκληπίαδηι τῶι υἱῶι ἔρρ\ω/(σο) (ἔτους) γ Κ̣α̣ί̣σ̣(αρος)
[χαίρειν] καὶ διὰ παντὸς ὑγιαίνειν·
[.]... [λ]α̣β̣ὼν τὸ παρά σου γράμμα τῆι ις·‾
[ἐ]ὰν περὶ Ὄγου κλῆρος ὁ Αγελάου .
5 [τὸ] ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ βρεχήσετα[ι], ἕως τούτου [ὁ] δὲ
[πε]ρ̣ὶ̣ Μοῦχιν οὔπω [β]έβρεκται, χειρῶ-
[μ]α̣ι̣ καὶ οἱ χαλκοὶ δεδαπα[ν]ημένοι
εἰς τὰ χώματα πάντων· ὑ̣[π]ὲ̣ρ δὲ ὧν
[ἔγρ]α̣φες τιμη⟨τό⟩τερα ἐνταῦθα· ὁ θανά-
10 σιμ̣[ος ...]λ̣υ̣β̣ε̣ καὶ οὔπω τιμὴ ἔσταται
ἐνκοίμητρα μο̣ι̣ β σανδύκινα λεπ[τὰ]
κεκροσμένα καὶ ὑγ̣ι̣.ι[..] μειρακ̣[ίου]
καὶ ⟨αὐ⟩τῆς μὴ ἀμελήσῃς [..].ε [
..[...π]εμψον· τὸ ὑπόδημ[ά] σοι
15 ἀ[ν]τ̣[έπε]μ̣ψα δι' Ἀπολλ\ῶ/(τος)· αἱ τριάκοντα ἄρουραι
αἱ περὶ Νῶιν βεβρεγμέναι εἰσί· τὸν περὶ
Ταλὴ κλῆρον μὴ μισθώσηις ἀλλὰ
ἀπόλαυον ἐκεῖ πρὸς τὰ τ̣ὴ̣ν χρῆσιν
---------------------------

vso: ]τη̣[ (parallel to the fibers)

1 Τρύφαινα: This is Tryphaina's first appearance in this correspondence. Until now we knew the names of her four children: Asklepiades, Petechon, Isidora and Paniskos.
3 *l.* λαβοῦσα.
τὸ ... γράμμα: Cf. the same wording in **1209**.3. The plural τὰ ... γράμματα is more common: **1204**.3, **1205**.6. The singular also in **2645**.7
4 Ὄγου: This village is also attested in **2436**.3, SPP X 204.4; cf. Calderini-Daris, Dizionario *s.v.*
κλῆρος ὁ Αγελάου: A parcel named after Agelaos is also attested in **1828**.9.
5 *l.* βρεχήσεται: Cf. Gignac, Morphology 314.2, on this form; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, Antike Wasserkultur, Munich 1990, on this topic.
8 *l.* πάντως?
9–10 θανάσιμ̣[ος: Cf. O. Montevecchi in: Miscellanea Papyrologica (= P. Flor. XIX), vol. II, Florence 1990, 443–449, on adjectives in -σιμος.
10–11 In **1204**.10–11, written on October 2, 28 B.C., Isidora, the sister of Asklepiades, writes to her brother, requesting him to send her a blanket. Three weeks later (in **1205**) she writes that she has sent him 120 drachmas for the blanket, although it is not worth more than 5 drachmas. Even if the correspondent here is Tryphaina, the business could still be about the same blanket.



11 *l.* ἐγκοιμήτρων: Coming just after the mention of a deathly sick person (ὁ θανάσιμος), this word could be construed as a misspelling of ἐγκοιμητήριον or κοιμητήριον. Hence, one might want to interpret the sentence: "and the price for the burial has not yet been established". Since, however, much of the correspondence in this archive relates to matters regarding blankets and other textiles (**1204**.10, **1205**.19–24, **1207**.5–7), the word here is probably best left unemended.
*l.* σανδυκίνων: See Olsson, no. 5.6 n; R. Eisler, Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt, Munich 1910, 167.2, on the etymology and related word formations.
*l.* λεπ[τῶν] κεκρουσμένων: Forbes IV *passim* describes textile manufacture in which the raw materials are often beaten.
12 ὑγιδί[ων]?, ὑδκ.ι[?
μειρακ̣[ίου]: In **1204**.11 and **1205**.25 a child, Artemas, is mentioned.
13 Another possibility is to emend to καὶ τῆς τιμῆς μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.
16 Νῶιν: A village, otherwise attested only in **2370**.5, **2420**.6?. Cf. **2425**.7,27: Νωίτης.
17 Ταλή: See P. Hibeh 36.3 n. on the orthography of this village name.
19–22 These four concluding lines were inserted into the upper margin with a slight indentation to the right.

Translation

Tryphaina to her son, Asklepiades, (greetings) and continual health ... I received your letter on the 16th. If Agelaos's kleros near Ogu has been only half flooded and the kleros near Muchis so far not flooded at all, then I am totally ruined – along with the money on loan for the dams. The things which you wrote about are worth more here. The deathly sick .... and the price of two fine, red, beaten blankets and the child's ... has not yet been established. Don't forget the price .... I sent your shoe back with Apollos. The thirty aruras near Nois have been flooded. You should not rent out the tract near Tale but rather use it yourself .... Farewell. Year 3 of Caesar ....

## 2666 Private Account

P. 25299 Herakleopolites
9.7 x 11.2 cm.

Margins: left 2.7, upper 3.3. The papyrus is broken off on the right and bottom.
This unassuming scrap of papyrus is important for two reasons: it lists Athenodoros's possessions or provisions in Alexandria, among which is a store of Kalymnian wheat – a commodity otherwise unattested in the Greek papyri from Roman Egypt.

λόγος πρὸς Ἀθην[όδωρον
ἔχεις ἐν Ἀλεχανδρεία̣ [

πυροῦ Καλυμνίου μ\ε/( ) ερ\μ./( ) ρι
ἄλλας ὁμ\ο/(ίως) μ\ε/() ερ\μ./() ο̣δ̣ .... ρι
5 μέλιτος .... β χ\η/( )
-----------------
3 $\overset{\mu}{\epsilon\rho}$ α˪

3 Καλυμνίου: Cf. Pape *s.v.* Κάλυμνα, citing the Etym. Magnum (486.25): κάλυμνος· ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ σῖτος· ἀντὶ τοῦ καλίμνιος. ὁ γὰρ Φιλάδελφος ἐκ Καλυνδῶν μετήνεγκε τὸ σπέρμα. Kalymnian wheat is not otherwise attested in the Greek papyri from Egypt. Whereas the island's honey enjoyed wide repute, its wheat seems otherwise to have drawn no attention. Cf. Bürchner, "Kalydna", RE X,2, 1762, *id.*, "Kalymna", RE X,2, 1768.
μ\έ/(τρῳ) Ἑρ\μου/?: Cf. **1142**.7, where the Hermes-measure for wheat appears in an Alexandrian contract. Whether it is the correct resolution of these abbreviations is, of course, a moot question.
ἀ( ): *non liquet. Alpha* with a *Hakenalpha* above is not easily explicated. Presumably it is the abbreviation of a container, and its gender is feminine – since in the next line there is a similar entry preceded by ἄλλας – other (such jars or vessels?)
5 χ\η/( ): *non liquet.*

Translation

Account for Athenodoros .... You have in Alexandria ... 110 ... of Kalymnian wheat in the Hermes-measure (?); similarly, another 110 ... in the Hermes-measure (?); ... of honey ....

## 2667 Private Account

P. 25249 Herakleopolites
24 x 10.8 cm.

Margins: upper 2.5, left 3.5, right: variable, lower: 8.7 cm. Between lines 5 and 6 is a space of 4 cm. *Kollesis* on the right edge. The same script as **2605**, **2614**, etc. (see **2605** introd.). Verso blank.
This account records goods (comestibles) received from Athenodoros.

παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου
μέλιτος κεράμια γ
οἴνου ἡμι\κ/(άδια) ι
ἀλέκτορες ι
5 χοίρους ε
παρ' Ἀθηνοδώρου
οἴνου διπλᾶ β
χ\οί/(νικες) β
σεμι\δ/(αλῖται) χ\ί/(λιαι)
10 Ἀ



2 μέλιτος: Cf. **2600**.1 n.
κεράμια: Cf. Fleischer 19–29; B. Kramer, CPR XVIII, p. 140.419–421, citing bibliography.
3 οἴνου: On wine production see Forbes III 70ff.; on various designations for wine, N. Kruit, ZPE 90 (1992) 267–268.
ἡμι\κ/(άδια): Cf. Sandys 10.46 n.; Fleischer 14–15; J. Rea, ZPE 99 (1993) 86–87.
5 Cf. **2661**.20 n.
7 διπλᾶ: Cf. Fleischer 12, where the earliest reference dates to 143 A.D.
8 χ\οί/(νικες): Cf. B. Kramer, CPR XVIII, p. 38.125 and p. 140.419–421, citing bibliography.
9 σεμι\δ/(αλῖται) *scil.* ἄρτοι: Cf. Battaglia, Artos 86.
10 This seems to be either a damaged or else half-written and then abandoned *alpha* with a curlicue at the top representing the number 1,000.

Translation

From Athenodoros: 3 *keramia* of honey, 10 *hemikadia* of wine, 10 roosters, 5 piglets.
From Athenodoros: 2 *dipla* of wine, 2 *choinikes* (of wine); one thousand white breads, 1,000.

## 2668 Private Account

P. 25381 Herakleopolites
12.5 x 12 cm.

Margins: upper 2.5, left 2.5, right 4.5–6. The same script as **2605**, **2614**, etc. (see **2605** introd.). Verso blank.
This account records sums of money and amounts of goods (comestibles) as noted by a certain Pappion who here makes his sole appearance in the archive of Athenodoros.

ὑπόμν\η/(μα) Παππίωνος
περὶ vacat (τάλαντα) ε
/περὶ (πυροῦ)(ἀρταβῶν) (μυριάδων)
κρομμύων (ἀρτ.) ι
5 μέλιτος χ\οί/(νικες) ρ
/φα\κ/(οῦ) τ
μόσχ\ε/(υμάτων) .
υἱήα̣ς ὁ\μ/(οίως)
σησάμο̣υ (ἀρτ.) ε
10 μελανθίου α
κορίου ξηρ(οῦ) ε̣
ἄμεως ε

μαράθου ε

-------------

2 Ζ 3 ⳨ 4 ⸗ 11 ξηρ

2 Either the scribe simply forgot to note the product being registered here or else the sum of money expresses the amount paid for the following list of wares and comestibles.

3 Pap. Μ\α/ = (μυριάδων): See Wm. Brashear, ZPE 60 (1985) 239–242, and M. Hasitzka, Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum Koptisch-Unterricht, Vienna 1990, 233–234, on the various forms of the myriad-symbol.

4 κρομμύων: Cf. P. Derchain, "Zwiebel", LdÄ VI 1435–1436. Besides being a main staple of the Egyptian diet since time immemorial, the onion was an important ingredient in Egyptian medicine – as was the case with most of the plants mentioned in this account; cf. Marganne 269, 285; R. Germer, Unters. über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten, Diss. Hamburg 1979, 375, 377, 379; W. Till, Die Arzneikunde der Kopten, Berlin 1951, 104.

6 φα\κ/(οῦ): On its economic value see Schnebel 191; on its medicinal value Marganne 204, 242; Germer, *op. cit.*, 215, 229, 278; Till, *op. cit.* 82.

7 μόσχ\ε/(υμάτων): Cf. Schnebel 305.

8 *l.* ὑείας: Apparently the adjective instead of the substantive ὗς. Cf. **2661**.20 n.

9 σησάμου: Cf. Schnebel 198; Sandys 55–71; Marganne 197; Germer, *op. cit.* 198, 284; Till, *op. cit.* 95.

10 μελανθίου: Cf. Schnebel 205, 360; W. Helck, "Gewürze", LdÄ II 594–595; Marganne 241; Germer, *op. cit.* 46, 102, 183, 255, 278; Till, *op. cit.* 71.

11 κορίου ξηρ(οῦ): Cf. Schnebel 207; Helck, *op. cit.*; Marganne 81, 174, 248; Germer, *op. cit.* 315.

12 ἄμεως: Cf. Schnebel 360; Marganne 241, 271.

13 μαράθου: Cf. Olck, "Fenchel", RE VI,2, 2172–2177; Marganne, *passim*; Germer, *op. cit.* 265, 328; Till, *op. cit.* 56.

Translation

Pappion's memorandum: for ..., 5 talents; 10,000 artabs of wheat; 10 artabs of onions; 100 *choinices* of honey; 300 (*choinices*) of lentils; ... plant sets; similarly ... pigs; 5 artabs of sesame; 1 (artab) of black cumin; 5 (artabs) of dried coriander; 5 (-artabs) of cumin; 5 (artabs) of fennel ....

## 2669 Inventory List

P. 25382 Herakleopolites

One fragment measures 27 x 12.5 cm. and preserves a vertical *kollesis* running down the middle. Margins: left 6 cm., upper 3.5 cm. Broken off on the right and bottom. Another fragment measures 26.5 x 27.5 cm. with a vertical *kollesis* 9.5 cm. from the right edge and *ca.* 15 cm. further to the left of the *kollesis* a light patch on the left edge of the papyrus indicating where another *kollesis* may once have been. Margins: upper 3–4 cm., right 1.3 cm., lower 2 cm. (col. I), 3 cm. (col. II), 19.5 cm.



(col. III). The relationship of the two fragments to each other is difficult to ascertain. The larger fagment seems to preserve both the beginning (with the heading in lines 1–4) and the end (Col. III which ends high up on the sheet). The smaller fragment whose contours give the deceptive impression of joining onto the left of the larger fragment, apparently does not belong here at all but somewhere else. No ready solution offers itself. Verso blank.

The present inventory list preserves an account of clothes, vessels and other objects of use in daily life and offers little to distinguish itself from the many others like it preserved on the papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt. Similar lists are PUG II 56; SPP XX 67 = M. David, Papyrological Primer, Leiden 1965, no. 87. See in general: T. Reekmans, "Treasure-Trove and Parapherna", in: Le monde grec. Hommages à Cl. Préaux, Brussels 1975, 748–759; D. Hagedorn, P. Hamb. 223 introd.

Col. I

ἀνα[γ]ρ\α/(φὴ) σκεύων αρνπ\ω/()
ἐν τῆι ἐ[ν] τῶι ὅρμωι οἰ\κ/(ία)
ἐπὶ τῶι Φῦς
ἐν οἰκίσκωι
5 κλ{ε}ίναι β
[...]ιον σαμ̄( ) α
τῦλαι β
στρωματεὺς α
ὑπαγκ\ώ/(νια) φαιὰ [γ] δ
10 [κίσσινον] \πράσινον/ α
λίνα γ
ἐνειλήμμ.. λινᾶ β
παλαιὸν ὑπαγκ\ώ/(νιον) λιν\οῦ/(ν) α
ξεστῶν ζεύγη β
15 κάμπτρα .
\κάμπτρα/ καὶ κύλιος [
συμψίλιον [ α

Col. II

φανὸς χαλκοῦς
κιβώ[τι]ον ξυλίνηι
20 ἐν ᾗ γυναικεῖα
π[..]ολικον ξύλινον
[ξ]έστης ἄλλης ἀρυτ(αιν-)
τῦλη [ ] σαλσημαι α
λήκυ[θο]ς ξενι\κ/(ὴ) δερμ[α]τίν(η)
25 λεβητάρι⟨ο⟩ν χαλ\κ/(οῦν) α
χερνίβι⟨ο⟩ν παλαι\ὸν/ α
δίφρος γυναι\κ/(εῖος) ἄλλη ξυλι\κ/( )
Βῆσις κασσιτερίνη α
⟦λ[...].ις ὁμοί\ω/(ς) κασσιτερι⟧
30 λω.[νος στυππύιναι⟧
χ[ ]. γύναι\κ/() χαλκ\./() α
.[ ].
[ ]..υ\γ/( ) α

Col. III

ἔργα κίτων\ο/(ς) λευκοῦ γυναι(κείου)
35 ἐν ἱματιοφόριν δερματίνη
ποτηρί\ω/(ν) χαλκ\ῶ/(ν) ζεῦκος α
κύαθος χαλκοῦς α

Col. IV

ἐν ἱματιοφορίδι δερματίνη
... αργυρο γυναι\κ/(ει-) φαιὰ α
40 Συριακὸν ἱμάτιον
λακέρνιον παιδικὸν α
μ.λιον ἀναβολάδιον α
[.....].....\λευκὰ/ παιδικὰ β
.[ ]. α

---------------------------

1 αρνπ\ω/(): Although the reading seems relatively certain, the interpretation remains obscure.

2 ε̣[ν] τῶι ὅρμωι: The harbor of Herakleopolis, which seems to have been a relatively autonomous district, is well attested in the papyri. See Calderini-Daris, Dizionario II,3, pp. 219, 222: *s.v.* Ἡρακλεοπολίτης; D. Hagedorn, P. Mon. III 53.2 n.; R. Duttenhöfer, P. Heid. VI 363.2 n.

3 τῶι Φῦς: See Calderini-Daris, Dizionario *s.v.* and Supplement I, *s.v.* on the village Phys; and **2611**.6 n., on place names with the article.

4 οἰκίσκωι: See G. Husson, Oikia, Paris 1983, 209, discussing the one papyrological attestation of this word (P. Berl. Zilliacus 4.6).

5 *l.* κλίναι: Cf. Peterson 254ff. *passim*, 274f.

9 ὑπαγκ\ώ/(νια): Cf. A. Leone, Aegyptus 63 (1983) 38–39, noting its first occurrence in the documentary papyri.

10 πράσινον: See E. Zwierlein-Diehl, Magische Amulette und andere Gemmen des Instituts f. Altertumskunde der Univ. zu Köln (= Papyrologica Coloniensia 20), Opladen 1992, 43–47, discussing related words.

12 *l.* ἐνειλήματα.

13 παλαιόν: Cf. J. Diethart, Analecta Papyrologica 2 (1990) 93.

16 *l.* γύλιος.

17 *l.* συμψέλλιον = *subsellium*. G. Godron, BSAC 25 (1983) 33, lists different orthographies in Greek and Coptic. Cf. Peterson 254, 274.10.

19 *l.* ξύλινον.

20 γυναικεῖα: Cf. Z. Packman, BASP 25 (1988) 137–148, on this and similar adjectives.

22 *l.* ξέστης ἄλλος ἀρυτ(ήρ). Since both words mean different types of cups, the interpretation of the line is difficult. Pap. αρυτ¯

24 Pap. δερμ[α]τιν¯

27 δίφρος: Cf. Peterson 256.18.

28 Βῆσις κασσιτερίνη: Cf. SPP XX 67.4,17: Βήσιον κασσιτέρινον; and F. Burkhalter, ZPE 59 (1985) 132.20, who interprets this as a cup, and not as a statuette of Bes.

30 λύχνος?

34 ἔργα: LSJ *s.v.* cites Iliad 6.289, Odyssey 7.97: ἔργα γυναικῶν. *L.* χιτῶνο(ς). λευκοῦ: Horizontal stroke over the *epsilon* and *upsilon*.

35 *l.* ἐν ἱματιοφορίῳ δερματίνῳ or ἐν ἱματιοφορίδι δερματίνῃ.

36 *l.* ζεῦγος.

40 Συριακόν: J. Diethart, Tyche 2 (1987) 9–10, lists adjectives derived from place names as they appear in connection with non-Egyptian, imported textiles. This one does not appear in his list.

42 ἀναβολάδιον: Cf. P. Oxy. 921.27 and LSJ *s.v.*

### Translation

List of furnishings ... in the house in the harbor in the (village of) Phys. In a room: 2 couches, 1 ..., 2 cushions, 1 bedspread, 4 grey elbow cushions, 1 green one, 3 linen garments, 2 linen wrappings, 1 old linen elbow cushion, 2 pairs of cups, 1 chest, a chest and a wallet, 1 bench, a bronze torch, a wooden chest in which there are women's clothes, a wooden ..., another cup – a cup, 1 ... cushion, a foreign skin vessel, 1 bronze vase, 1 old basin, another wooden woman's stool, a tin statue of Bes, a ... likewise of tin, tow ..., 1 bronze woman's ..., (col. III) a woman's white tunic in a leather clothes-chest, 1 pair of bronze goblets, 1 bronze ladle. (Col. IV) In a leather clothes-chest: 1 grey woman's ..., a Syrian tunic, 1 child's cloak, 1 ... mantle, 2 white children's ... , 1 ....



## 2670 Official Account

P. 25383 — Herakleopolites
41 x 15 cm. — *ca.* 14/13

Upper margin: 3.5 cm.; broken off on the other three sides. Two vertical *kolleseis* 17 cm. apart from each other. Traces of four columns of writing in the same script as **2595**. Verso blank.

The present account is apparently official, since it lists monetary income from individuals and groups of workers or artisans in various localities in the Herakleopolite nome. One item of special interest: an official named Lupus was evidently making an inspection tour of the province (II 1: εἰς παρουσίαν Λ⟨ο⟩ύπου). The amounts of money recorded in the ensuing lines indicate the income received which was supposedly used to defray the cost of provisioning him. Alongside individual persons paying money, also such commercial groups as sheep-herding Arabs (II 2), leather workers (II 4), coppersmiths (II 6), linen weavers (III 6), and beer brewers (I 2) are named. Even a *sitologos* (III 5) is recorded as a contributor. The list is arranged according to toparchies (II 1, III 9) with presumably the name of the toparchy preceding the village name, Thmoiamunis, in III 1.

Col. I

]. τῶι ἱερῶι ἐν ε..., ]λ̣λ̣\ω/( ) Ἡρακλεί\δ/() ζυτοπ[..] ρ̣ν, ] vacat, ] traces, etc. 1 1/2 cm. further down are more illegible traces.

Col. II

Περὶ Τεκμί· αἱ σημαινό\μ/(εναι) δεδόσθαι εἰς παρουσίαν Λ⟨ο⟩ύπου (δρ.) ρθ (δυόβολοι)
Φαινίππου· παρὰ τῶν Ἀράβων χάριν νομῆς προβ\ά/(των) ⟦(δρ.)⟧ ιζ (ἔτους) (δρ.) Σ
[.....] (δρ.) ζ̣ καὶ πόκων ιε ιζ (ἔτους) (δρ.) ξ· καὶ λ[α]\χ/(άνου) κριθ\ῆ/(ς) (δρ.) δ ἄ\λ/-(λαι) δ (γίν.) η
[.....]ς οἴνου ἡμικ\α/(δίων) β̣ (δρ.) η ἄ\λ/(λαι) (δρ.) δ· σκυ[τέ]ων κόσμ\ου/ ὄν\ου/ (δρ.) κη
5 [.....] Ἀπολλ\ω/() Θεοδώρου καὶ ..[...]χράτου (δρ.) ιβ (γίν.) (δρ.) χκε (δυόβολοι)
[.....] .....λλ\ω/( ) χαλκοτύπων α...[ ] (δρ.) .
[........] καὶ Μηνοκράτου Δημάρ\χ/(ου) καὶ Ἀπολλ\ω/( ) (δρ.) .
....ντωτος· (δρ.) ρ
Ἡρακλείου [κ]αὶ Ἀβώτου συντίμησιν (δρ.) .
10 Κλεο..... traces
--------------------------

Col. III

..... Θμοιαμούνεως· παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
traces λαχάνου (ἀρτ.) λε. (δρ.) Σμ
Ἀπολλωνίου ... (δρ.) π
Κ.....[.....]. (ἥμισεως) (δρ.) υ
5 traces λλίπου Διομήδους σιτολόγ\ου/ (δρ.) Σ
traces [λ]ινυφων ρι̣
traces ..π.λλίωνος (δρ.) μ
ι]ζ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως π[α]ρὰ τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ..
(γὶν.) τό\π/(ου) Ἀρλ
10 ]...[
]..[
---------------------------

Col. IV

[ ].[, παρὰ Ἀρτέμω[νος, Ἡρακλείδ.[, break of three lines, then Ἀρείου [

separate fragment: ]ενης οιν[

II 1 *et passim* ⟆ = δραχμαί II 1,5 = = δυόβολοι II 3,5, III 9 / = γίνεται
II 5 ⋲ = δραχμαί III 2 ⟂ = ἀρτάβαι 4 L = ἥμισυ 5 -λογ̑ 8 ⌒S = αὐτός

Col. I
ζυτοπ[οι-]: See H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 82ff.

Col. II
1 περὶ Τεκμί: A toparchy in the Herakleopolite nome already attested in Ptolemaic times; cf. **2437**.1; P. Hels. I 24.6; BGU XIV, pp. 220f.; Falivene 205.
αἱ σημαινό\μ/(εναι) *scil.* δραχμαί.
παρουσίαν: A common *terminus technicus* used for designating the prefect's *conventus* – as well as the visit of any distinguished personage; see **2211** introd.; Horsley, NDIEC I, p. 46; N. Lewis, BASP 18 (1981) 119–129; T. Carp, P. Oxy. 3357.8 n. A. Niederstätter, Ante Portas. Herrscherbesuche am Bodensee 839–1507, Konstanz 1993, while discussing more modern parallels, nonetheless presents a vivid picture of what such visits must have entailed in antiquity.
Λ(ο)ύπου: In **2602**.6 a certain Lupus, *strategos* (of the Herakleopolite nome?), is mentioned (cf. **2595**.7 n.). Presumably this is the same personage for whose tour of the nome this income is being calculated.
2 Φαινίππου: Obviously a village name, since it is subsumed under the heading of the Peri Tekmi toparchy and succeeded by an occupational group. The name has the archaic ring of a Ptolemaic large-landowner's name which in the course of time became permanently associated with the territory involved. See F. Zucker, "Beobachtungen zu den permanenten Klerosnamen", in: Studien zur Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Fr. Oertel ... gewidmet, Bonn 1964, 101–106.
Ἀράβων: Calderini, Dizionario I,2, pp. 188–190, and M. Abd-el-Ghany in: Egitto e storia antica 233–242, discuss Arabs in the Greek papyri. Often they were shepherds – as is the case here, where they have paid 200 drachmas for the right to graze their sheep (cf. **2654** introd.). Cf. F. Altheim, R. Stadelmann, "Araber in Ägypten", LdÄ I 359–360.
2, 3 L = (ἔτους).
4 κόσμ\ου/ ὄν\ου/: See G. Nachtergael, CdE 64 (1989) 287–336, discussing beasts of burden and their equipment. The accompanying illustrations vividly depict their often decorative trappings.



Col. III
1 Θμοιαμούνεως: (Presumably the toparchy preceded the village name, but the papyrus is too shredded and abraded to entertain any hopes of retrieving the name.) This village is attested from the second to the eighth centuries, according to Calderini-Daris, Dizionario.
8 L = (ἔτους).

Translation

(From the) Peri Tekmi (toparchy). Amounts of drachmas indicated to have been given for the advent of Lupus: 109 drachmas, 2 obols.
From Phainippos. From the Arabs for the right of pasturing their sheep in the 17th year (of Augustus), 200 drachmas. From ... 7 dr. From 15 fleeces in the 17th year, 60 dr. For vegetables (and) barley, 4 dr. Another 4 (dr.). From ... for 2 (?) *hemikadia* of wine, 8 dr. Another 4 dr. From leather workers for the outfit of a donkey, 28 dr. ... from Apollo-, son of Theodoros and from -chrates, 12 dr. Total 625 dr., 2 obols.
From ... -llo-, from coppersmiths ... dr. (From) ... and Menokrates, son of Demarchos and Apollo-, ... dr. From -ntos, 100 dr. From Herakleios and Abotos, for a valuation, ... dr. From Kleo-... (Col. III) (From the ... toparchy). From Thmoiamunis. From the ... from 35 ... artabs of vegetables, 140 dr. From Apollonios ..., 80 dr. From K-, for ... 400 dr. From -llipos, son of Diomedes, *sitologos*, 200 dr. From the linen weavers, 110. From -llion, 40 dr. In the 17th year. Similarly, from the same. Total for the toparchy, 1130 (drachmas).

## 2671 Account

P. 25300 Herakleopolites
22.7 x 27 cm.

Margins: upper 2 cm., left 1.5–2.5 cm., lower (col. I) 2.5 cm., (col. III) 3 cm. Verso blank.
Although the present document seems to be a private person's account it nonetheless records various payments to higher and lower government officials, priests, policemen, and soldiers, as well as musicians, etc.

Col. I
ἄλλος λόγος δαπ\ά/(νης) κοιν\ῆ/(ς) ὑποκειμέν\ω/(ν)
Τρύ[.]φωνι ὡς εἰς βιβλιοθ\ή/(κην)

/ δι' Ἀντιγόνωι (δρ.) φ
ποτηρίων καὶ ἡμικυ(τυλῶν) (δρ.) τμ
5 [..]ουθδ\α/( ) (δρ.) ξγ
/...... Ἀλεξάνδρ\η/( ) παιδ\α/(ρί-)
Ἀπελλᾷ Σ
λεμησᾳ κορκο\δ/(ίλου) οβ
ὑποκε[ι]μέν\ω/(ν) ἐξηγ\η/(τῇ) ρμδ
10 καθῆκον [..]\ο/( ) τῶν (δρ.) ρμδ (δρ.) ζ (τριώβολον)
/ κιστῶν (δρ.) ιβ
/ traces η
traces η .
[ ].... Παρνασσ\ω/( ) η
15 / δ(ι') ἀρουρῶν καὶ ἡμιλι\/() δ
/ traces

———

———

]...[
[μέ]λιτος ὠφελι δ[..] .
ἐπιβλήματος διέδρ(ου) . (τριώβολον)
20 Κογκινο κιθαρῳδῶι (δρ.) β
στάτορι Φαύστου (δρ.) η
ἱερεῦσι Με⟨σ⟩τασύτμι\ο/(ς) (δρ.) η
/ .[..].σοπ⟨ο⟩ιοῖς (δρ.) δ
.[...]

Col. II

25 μαχαιροφόροις Τείρ\ω/(νος) ἐπιστρ\α/(τήγου) (δρ.) [
ἱερεῦσι Σούχου (δρ.) η
ὑπ\η/(ρέτῃ) ἐπιστρατήγου ὑ\π/(ὲρ)
ἐπιστάσεως λινύφ\ω/(ν) (δρ.) δ
ὑπ\η/(ρέτῃ) Ἀπελλ\ᾷ/ δι' Ἡρακλ\α/()
30 οἴνου κεραμί\ω/(ν) β (δρ.) ς
τῶι (αὐτῶι) (δρ.) δ
ἱερεῦσι Ἴσιδ[ος κ]αὶ [.]ρ[
στρατιώτηι Ὡρείωνος (δρ.) .[
τιμ\ῆ/(ς) ..[
traces of 3 lines
spatium
38 (γίν.) Ἀωιθ (τετρώβολον)



Col. III

———

εἰς .....
40 τῆς Ἡρακλεί\δ/(ου) μερί\δ/(ος) (γίν.)[
μητροπόλεως Ἀ[

3 et passim ς = (δραχμαί) 10, 19 ᒥ = (τριώβολον)
15 δ' = δ(ιά) 19 διεδ 38 ᒥ = (τετρώβολον)

4 ἡμικα(δίων)?, ἡμικο(τυλῶν)?
5, 7 [..]ουθδ\α/( ): *non liquet.*
6–7 " To N. N., son of Alexandros, for a slave, Apellas" is just one of several possibilities for interpreting this entry.
παιδ\α/(ρί-): See J. Rea, P. Oxy. 3960.28 n., summarizing the *status questionis* on the interpretation of this and similar words.
8 λεμησᾳ κορκο\δ/(ίλου): "Priest of the crocodile" (god, *i.e.* Souchos). This sacerdotal title, *lemusos*, also appears in SB I 1007.7, P. Tebt. I 122.1 and P. Soknobr. 2.53 (= YCS 10 [1947] 215ff.). F. de Cenival, Les associations religieuses en Egypte, Cairo 1972, 161–162, after discussing the Egyptian etymology summarizes: "*le titre mr ms' désigne bien, à l'époque lagide et romaine, un personnage appartenant à la hiérarchie militaire, et cumulant des fonction de prêtres et d'administrateur d'un temple avec des fonctions militaires ou policières*". Cf. A. Farid, RdE 41 (1990) 60f. (both ref. thanks to K.-Th. Zauzich); P. Pestman in: P. Mil. Vogl. III, p. 185; U. Luft, Studia Aegyptiaca 14 (1992) 407; J.-L. Fournet, "Les emprunts du grec à l'égyptien", Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 84 (1989) 70; R. Dostálová, Listy fil. 114 (1991) 102f. (*non vidi*); R. Pintaudi, P. Laur. II (= P. Flor. II) 33.3 n. The enigmatic entries in P. Brooklyn 22.10 (λιμμ[) and 28 (σὺν λιμμεῦσι) are undoubtedly variant spellings of the same word.
9 ἐξηγη(τῇ): See B. Kraut, ZPE 55 (1984) 167ff.
14 Παρνασσ\ω/(ν)?: *addendum onomasticis.*
15 ἡμιλι\/(): ἡμιλίτριον seems an unusual entry here next to aruras.
18 *l.* μέλι ὀφείλεται.
20 *l.* Κογχινος? *addendum onomasticis*?
κιθαρῳδῶι: The word is rare in the papyri: P. Cair. Zen. I 59087.16,23; P. Oxy. 2476.19,25; 2682.22; SB XIV 12124.1–2. Cf. on music and musicians in ancient Egypt: L. Manniche, Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt 1991; *ead.*, Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments (= Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 34), Munich-Berlin 1975; C. Ziegler, Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens, Paris 1979; in Hellenistic Egypt: W. Westermann, JEA 18 (1932) 16–27; J. Lindsay, Daily Life in Roman Egypt, London 1963; *id.*, Leisure and Pleasure in Roman Egypt, London 1965; H. Wiemken, Der griechische Mimus, Bremen 1972, 207f.; R. Pack, The Greek and Latin Literary Texts, Ann Arbor 1965, nos. 2438–2445; P. Oxy. 3161, 3162, 3704, 3705; W. Cockle, Congr. 14, 50–65; A. Bélis, ZPE 72 (1988) 53–63; M. Haslam, ZPE 75 (1988) 139–140; M. West, ZPE 92 (1992) 209ff.; H.-A. Rupprecht, Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde, Darmstadt 1994, 209, citing further literature. See A. Bélis, D. Delattre, "A propos d'un contract d'apprentissage d'aulète," in: Papiri Documentari Greci (= Papyrologia Lupiensa 2), Galatina 1993, 105–162.
21 στάτορι: Cf. **2618**.11 n.

22 Μεστασύτμιο(ς): Cf. G. Wagner and J. Quaegebeur, BIFAO 73 (1973) 41–60 A. Bernand, Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum III: La "méris" de Polémôn, Cairo 1981, 143; W. Spiegelberg, Recueil de Travaux 26 (1904) 56; Rübsam; R. Schlichting, "Ohrenstelen", LdÄ IV 562–566; Wm. Brashear, Magica Varia, Brussels 1991, 50–51; F. Kayser, BIFAO 91 (1991) 207–217, citing P. Lambrechts and L. van den Berghe, "La divinité-oreille dans les religions antiques", Bull. Inst. Historique Belge de Rome 29 (1955) 177–197; F. Cenerini, "Mens Bona e Aures", Epigraphica 48 (1986) 99–113; F. Mayr, "Hören", *RAC* 15 (1991) 1023–1111.

25 μαχαιροφόροις: Cf. **2639**.9 n.

26 Σούχου: See E. Brovarski, "Sobek", LdÄ V 995–1031, esp. 1010 ff. (in the Greco-Roman period); Rübsam; **2215** (for various hypostases of the deity).

27 ὑπ\η/(ρέτῃ): See S. Strassi Zaccaria, "Le funzioni degli hyperetai nell' Egitto greco e romano", Congress 20 (Copenhagen), 504 ff.

31 Pap. ς̄.

32 ["Ω]ρ̣[ου] is, of course, the restoration which most readily comes to mind. See Wm. Brashear, "Horos", RAC 16 (1992) 574–597.

Col. III

τῆς Ἡρακλεί\δ/(ου) μερί\δ/(ος): The appearance of this division of the Arsinoite nome as well as that of Suchos, patron god of the Fayum, (ll. 8 and 26), here on a papyrus extracted from mummy cartonnage which otherwise produced documents exclusively from the Herakleopolite nome, is surprising.

Pap. / = (γίνεται)

### Translation

Another account of general expenditures (from the) things mentioned here below: to Tryphon for (the) library – through Antigonos, 500 drachmas; for goblets and half-*kotylae* (?),450 dr.; for -uthda(), 63 dr.; N.N., son of Alexandros, for a slave, Apellas, 200 dr.; to a priest of (the) crocodile (god), 72 (dr.); to the *exegetes* for the things below: ... for the 144 dr., 7 dr. and 3 obols; for chests, 12 dr.; ..., 8 dr.; ... 8 dr.; to N.N., son of Parnasson, 8 dr.; for aruras and half-pounds (?), 4 dr.; ... for honey ... owed ... for the covering of a stool, ... and 3 obols; to Conchinus, the harpist, 2 dr.; to Faustus's *stator*, 8 dr.; to priests of Mestasytmis, 8 dr.; to -makers, 4 dr.; ...; for (the) policemen of Tiro, *epistrategos*, ... dr.; to priests of Suchos, 8 dr.; to (the) *epistrategos*'s steward for linen weavers' upkeep, 4 dr.; to (the) steward, Apellas, through Herakla-, for 2 *keramia* of wine, 6 dr.; to the same, 4 dr.; to priests of Isis and ...; to Horion's soldier, ... dr.; for (the) price of ...; total 1819 (drachmas) and 4 obols; ... for ...; from the Herakleides division, ... total ...; from (the nome) capital, 1,000 ... (drachmas).

## 2672 List of Priests

P. 25158 — Herakleopolites
21.9 x 17.3 cm. — *ca.* 13/12

Left margin 2 cm.; otherwise broken off. The side with horizontal fibers preserves four line-ends in Greek and 15 in Demotic.



On the side with vertical fibers is a list of priests arranged according to their *phylai*, identical with **1196**.65–83, 101–123. Given the lack of any heading or concluding notes, it is impossible to say whether this list is a copy of **1196** or another, separate listing for a different year. **1196** preserves 17 names which are missing here between the last entry in col. I 18 and the first entry in col. II.

Col. I

---------------------------
Τοθοῆς Ἁρυώτης
Ἁρσιῆσ[ι]ς Ὀννῶφρις
Σεμθ[ε]φίβις Τοθοῆτος
Τοθοῆς υἱὸς
5 (γίνονται) ἀνδρῶν λθ
γ¯φυλὴ
Περῶυς Μούιτος
Ὥρου υἱὸς
Σχερεῖνις Μούιτος
10 Ἁρυώτης υἱὸς
Μούιτος ἀδελφὼς
Ἁρυώτης Μούιτος
Πετεῆτις Νεκθεμὴς
Πετωσῖρις ἀδελφὼς
15 Ὀννῶφρις υἱὸς
[Τ]οθοῆς Οὐαφρῆτος
[Πετει]μ̣ού[θ]ης υἱὸς
[Οὐαφρὴς ἀδελφ]ὼς
------------------

Col. II

---------------------------
Ἁρυώτ]ης υἱὸς [
Ὥρου Παούθου [
Πετεήτιος Πετο[σ].[
Στοσωήτιος ἀδε[λφ]ὼς [
Ὧρος Παταῦσ̣τ̣ος [
(γίνονται) ἀνδρῶν λδ
δ ¯φυλὴ
Ψενὼς Πετειμ[ούθης
Πετειμούθ[ης υἱὸς
Πετωσ[ῖ]ρις Π[ετειμούθου
Πετειμούθ[ου υἱὸς
Νεχθεμμ[ῆς υἱὸς
Ὥρου ἀδελφὼς [
Πετειμοῦ[θις Ψενῶστος
Ὧρος ἀδελφ[ὼς
Πετεσ[ῖ]ρις ἀδ[ελφὼς
Ψενὼς υἱὸς
Πετωσῖρις ἀ[δελφὸς
Ἁρυώτης Ψ[ενῶστος
Ψενῶτος υ[ἱὸς
Πετειμ[ο]ὺθο[υ Πετοσῖρις
Ψενὼς [ἀδ]ε[λφὸς
Πετοσῖρις] ἀδ[ελφὸς
Βαβῦνχις] Νε[χθήμμεως
]..[
---------------------------

Col. I

1–4 Discrepant name order in **1196**.65–69: Σεμθεφίβις Τοθοῆτος, Τοθοῆς υἱός, Πεταῦς Ταθ[ο]ῆτος χωλός, Τοθοῆς Ἁρυώτης, Ἁρσιῆσ[ι]ς Ὀννῶφρις.

5 The sum in **1196**.70 is one less than here.

7 In **1196**.72 the name is spelled Περου. Cf. Φερῶυς in **2441**.10,16 and **2437**.29.

14 *et passim l.* ἀδελφός.

15 Ὀννῶφρις: Cf. A. Gardiner in: Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia II,2, Berlin 1950, 44–53, and A. Rusch, RE 18,1, 483–484, on the name's etymology and significance.

Col. II
1ff. = **1196**.101f.
4 *l.* Στοτοήτιος: This is a quite unusual name in the Herakleopolite nome; cf. J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412. introd. and note 1 there; **2441**.108 n.
12 Cf. **1196**.112: Στέρος Νεχθεμμῆς υἱός.
15 This person has already been accounted for in line 13.

## 2673 Accounts

P. 21285 — Herakleopolites
28 x 21.5 cm. — I c. B.C.

→ Margins: left 4 cm., upper 1.5–2 cm., lower (col. 1) 12 cm., (col. II) 1 cm. Vertical *kollesis* 2 cm. from the right edge. The discoloration of the papyrus along the left edge as well as two line ends of writing are two obvious indications that another sheet of papyrus has come unglued here. In other words, from the edge of the one *kollesis* to the edge of the other *kollesis* were *ca.* 18 cm.
This side of the papyrus bears an account listing men's names and amounts in artabs – as well as a poem (published in Congr. 18, vol. II 107–111.) Since the six lines of poetry occupy the space directly adjacent to the first column and the continuation of the account lies below the poem, presumably the poem was written on the papyrus before the account. Someone who later used the same sheet of papyrus was obliged to arrange his account around the already existing verses.
↓ Margins: upper 3.5–4 cm., lower (col. II) 3 cm., (col. III) 2 cm. On this side of the papyrus are lists of men's names with the occasional indication of their occupation. At the end of Col. II is a tally, presumably indicating the number of men in the preceding entries according to certain criteria unbeknown to us today.
The writing on both sides of the papyrus is in the cursive documentary style typical of the late first century B.C. It is difficult to tell whether the same hand was responsible for writing both lists.

→ Col. I

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Πα\χ/(ὼν) κε̄ | |
| | Φαῆ̣σ̣ι̣ς̣ [....]υ τοῦ αὐτοῦ | |
| | .....ι\ω/( ) — ἡ̣γ̣ε̣μ̣\ο/(ν-) (πυροῦ) | γd |
| | Ἀρχῖβις ἀπελ⟨ε⟩ύθερος | ιβL |
| 5 | Πανθῆρις Τεφίβιος | ιβ |
| | Μοίς —- | ς |
| | Σιόις Ὀν\η/() κατοι\κ/() ἀν\η/() με( ) | κα |
| | Ἡρακ\λ/() Ἕρμ\ω/(νος) | ε̣ |
| | Ναρ\ω/(ῦς) Ἁρυ\ώ/(του) σιτό\λ/(ογος) | ιη |
| 10 | Πα\ῦ/(νι) ᾱ Ἰμού\θ/(ης) Ψεναμ̣(ούνιος) | ιζ |



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Χαγ̣ῶνις Ωγ̣φις | ιζ |
| | [..]...\/() τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) κατ\ο/(ικικοῦ) κ.\/ με() | ι |
| | δ Πααλ() νε\ω/(τέρου) | ζ |
| | Πορ..μ\ο/() Ταλ\ω/() | ιζ |
| 15 | traces (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) Ἐ̣ψ̣ξ̣η̣ | |

7 Ἐ 11 ᾱ, Ἐ 12 παα͞λ 14 τ͂ο

Col. II
Lines 1-6: poetry

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | του........... | |
| | Σαττίου υἱῶν | δ |
| | Πρώταρ\χ/(ος) Χομ̣ο̣υ̣ε̣ις | η |
| 25 | Βερενίκη Ι...... | |
| | Ἱέραξ Ὀλύμπου | δ |
| | \Ἁρυώτης πρεσβ\ύ/(τερος) Τε\ε/() | δ / |
| | Διονύσιος Θεσιβε\λ/() | ς |
| | Διονύσιος ὁ\μ/(οίως) Θεσι\β/() | δ |
| 30 | Πετεα.( ) Εστι...( ) | δ |
| | Πετε...\ω/() ........ | δ |
| | Πετεαρν̣ι̣ς Ἁρ...... | |
| | υἱῶν ..... | |
| | traces of 5 lines | |
| | Νεχ .... | |
| 40 | ...... | |
| | Διονυ | |
| | Πᾶσις Πασι[ | |

5 Cf. vso. line 76.
6 Μοίς: Cf. **1196** *passim* and P. Cornell 38.11. The line indicates his homonymous father (J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412.62 n.).
7 κατοι\κ/(ικῶν) ἀν(δρῶν) με(τόχων)? A somewhat similar entry in line 12.
9 Ναρ\ω/(ῦς): The same person in the verso account, line 74? See Vergote 11, on the name and its various forms.
10 Ἰμού\θ/(ης): Cf. Vergote 9.
Ψεναμ̣(ούνιος): Cf. Vergote 13.
11 Χαγ̣ῶνις Ωγ̣φις: The names, if read correctly, would be new.
23 Σαττίου: *addendum onomasticis*?
28, 29 Θεσιβε\λ/(): *addendum onomasticis*.

↓ Col. I
]θοῆς Πελῶτος καὶ
]σούχο\υ/ κοσκιν\ε/(υτὴς)

45 ]σόις Πολβειος
] ὁ ἀδε\λ/(φὸς)
].ῡερρις Ἡρακλέωνος
]οιστατο\υ/ πς
]ως Ἀραβι..
]σι\ω/()
50 ].σπ\/()
].ιας
traces of *ca*. 9 lines.

Col. II
Ἑρμίας Λήκιος
Παθιῦμις κηπουρ\ὸ/(ς)
Πετοσορονν\ῶ/(φρις) Παέτ\ο/(υ)
Παατῦμις Καλλων\ε/()
65 Πανετβεῦις Δεξίου
Ἑθρῆς ὁ σιτομ\έ/(τρης)

---

Τοθοῆς Γαμαλῶνος
καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδε\λ/(φὸς)
Κολεθεῖς καὶ Ἁρβῖ\χ/(ις) ιρεγ\/()
70 ⸢Ὧ⸣ρος Αλιλ̣λ̣ευ
Ἰμούθης ὁ σιτο\μ/(έτρης)
Πετεη\/() ὁ σιτο\μ/(έτρης)
Πατῦνις καὶ ....
Ναρωῦ⟨ς⟩ Ἁρυ\ώ/(του) καὶ ὁ ἀδε\λ/(φὸς)
75 Πετοσῖρις Ἡρακλέ\ω/(νος)
/ Πανθῆρις Ταφῖβις
(γίν.) ἀ.\/( ) κα

Col. III
Πετοσεῖρις Μολήο̣[υς
Φάσεις χαλκο\χ/() καὶ οπ̣[
80 υἱὸς [
Νεφερῶς Σα.\η/() καὶ .[
Πανθῆρις Κωφὸς [
Πολέμων καὶ Ποσεί[δων-
Κελεῆσις κα̣τ̣α̣κ̣[
85 Ἀπολλώνιος Αλιλ[
Τεε..μ̣ε̣τμις Κω̣\λ̣/()[



Πετενεφθεῖμ[ις
υἱὸς Π̣ατη̣ε̣υ̣ς [
Πετεαρ[πι]βῆκις [
90 υἱὸς Δράκοντος [
Κέρδων καὶ υἱὸ[ς
...
υἱὸς Ἰμούθο\υ/ ...[
Σίλουρος [

45 Πολ⟨ύ⟩βειος? or Pulvius?
61 Λήκιος: *addendum onomasticis*. Cf. **2577**.462.
63 Παέτ\ο/(υ): *addendum onomasticis*.
65 Πανετβεῦις: Cf. Vergote 13.
66 Ἑθρῆς: An unattested variant of Ἁθρῆς. Cf. Vergote 15.
67 Γαμαλῶνος: So far unattested in the papyri.
69 Κολεθεις: *addendum onomasticis*; variant of Kolluthis?
Ἁρβῖ\χ/(ις): Cf. Vergote 7.
Pap. ιρεγ¯
70 Αλιλ̣λ̣ευ, Αλια̣ν̣ου?
74 Cf. line 9.
76 Πανθῆρις Ταφῖβις: The same man in rto. I 5.
77 Pap. αν\η/ = ἀν(δρῶν)?
79 Φάσεις: Cf. Vergote 13.
χαλκο\χ/(οῦς)? *addendum lexicis*.
84 Κελεῆσις: Cf. J. Winnicki, JJP 23 (1993) 169-180, on names in Καλ- and Κελ-.
85 Αλιλ[: Cf. line 70.
90 *l*. υἱὸς Δράκων?, Drakon being the son of the man registered in the previous entry.

## 2674 Accounts

P. 16948 A, B, 25185, 25186 — Herakleopolites, I c. B.C.

The identical script and the presumably identical content make it plausible that the following fragments all derive from the same account. The same script can be seen on **2672** and maybe **2673**. Somewhat similar is the script of **2577**. Thus it is possible that these fragments might either belong to that register or may have been written by the same scribe.
The fragments published here tally men (rarely women) and amounts of money (?). Where a particular man's father is not known, his occupation is given.

P. 16948 A
26.3 x 16 cm.

Upper and lower margins *ca.* 2 cm.

Col. I

].[ ] α
]γυ() ὑ\π/(ὲρ) Πεκῦσις α
] Ἄδρ\α/(στος) Κρ\η/()
]ννπις α
5 ] Ψενατῦ\μ/(ις) Παν\ε/()
]ληννορ α
] υἱοὶ β
] - α
] ⁼ α
10 ]α
]α
]α
]α
]α
15 ]α ⟦β⟧
]α
]α

Col. II

]α
]α
20 ]α
]α
]α
]α
]α
25 ]α
]α
].. γερια[.] α
Ὀνν..α[...]ας α
Ἀμμην [ἀδε]λφοῦ α
30 [ ] α
Αθησις α
Ἁτρῆς Παήσε\ω/(ς) β
Μούθης υἱὸς



Ὧρος Τ....σαις α
35 Ὀρσαῆσι — α
Χαβισου
υἱ[ὸς] Τικρας β
ἡ γυνὴ Χ...α α
Ἡρακλέως λι\ν/(όυφος)
40 Ἁτρῆς Μαχορί\τ/(ης)
Πεκιτρις λιν⟨ό⟩υφος β
Φαῆσις α
Σπάρτακος α
Πρ[ ]\/()[
45 ..[
(γίν.) ..[....].ς
ὁ\μ/(οίως) θ

Col. III

.[
Α[
50 Ἄδρ[α(στος)
Ἡρακλῆς Ταη[
Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) [
Ταορμάστης [..]ρα.[
Κυτᾶς κηπουρὸς [
55 Αναπις
Μέλας Μέλας α
υἱὸς Τανῖτος λιν⟨ό⟩υφ\ο/(ς) α
Πετεχῶ(ν) Μαχορ(ίτης)
Στρουθὸς α
60 υἱὸς
Πανθῖχις β
Πετεχῶν Παμῶς α
Παμ[.]ς ἠπητὴς α
Ἄδραστ(ος) Ορανητ( )
65 ....νος [
Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) .[
[Πετ]εχ\ῶ/(ν) .[
*ca.* 5 lines missing
(γίν.) [

Col. IV: Ὀρφ[, Βελ[, / Πετ[, .[

P. 16948 B
18 x 25 cm.

Broken-off on three sides; the right margin measures 6 cm.

Col. I

———————

]..[ α
Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Μαλκατ\ο/(υ) α
75 Παaρις ἀδελφὸς α
Πολέμων Δημητρ(ίου) α
Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Ἀρτέμωνος α
Ἡρακλῆς Ψιξα α
Ἄδραστ\ο/(ς) Πετεπ\α/()
80 Ἀπό]λλων κέρδις α
]...ράνου α
]...() α
ἀδε]λφὸς α
]...του α
85 ποι]μὴν α
] ἀδελφ(ὸς) α
Πο]λίανθος α
]ηρα α
]..ασε̣υ̣ς α
90 ]νιδαρ\η/() α
————

Col. II

Three line ends showing *alpha* as the amount are succeeded by a lacuna of at least four lines.

.[
Π.[
Ἄδρ\α/(στος) .[..]..[.]
Ἀρυώ.[
95 Νουμᾶς γναφ[ένς
Πετενεᾶπις [
Ἀμμώνι̣ο̣ς



Πολ[.....]ς Ανι\ω/() α
Πομμοῦς ποιμὴν α
100 Σενθεῦς Πακάιτος (γίν.) ις
(γίν.) Ἕλλ\η/(νες) qβ πα... ὁ\μ/(οίως) ς
καὶ τ\ῶ/(ν) αδ\η/() λα.... (γίν.) ψπα.
(γίν.) τό\π/(ου) [.]ψ̣[ ]...[

P. 25185
17.8 x 18.8 cm.

Margins: left 1.5–2 cm. *Kollesis* 3.4 cm. from the left edge. There is a line of Demotic on the upper edge. On the back are traces of eleven lines in a column.

Col. I

Ἐπεὶφ
105 Ὀνν\ῶ/(φρις) Πνεφ\ο/(ρῶτος) δ
/ Νεχθ̣ν̣ῆβις δ
/ [...] Μέ\λα/(νος) δ
/ [ ] δ
..[ ] δ
110 Δεη̣.[ ] δ
Τήλεφ(ος) δ
Παν[.].ς Πα.\α/() δ
Ὀνν\ῶ/(φρις) ...ατεμ̄ δ
Ιμ\σ/() Σώτου δ ἄλ\λ/(λαι) ις
115 Κάστωρ η
Ἰμο̣ύθης Νε̣φ̣( ) δ
/ Μυσθᾶς δ
/ Σισ\ό/(ις) Ἁριθρ\ή/(ους) δ
Πετεαμ\ο/(ῦνις) Ἀρ\χ/() δ
120 Πανετβε(ῦις) νε\ώ/(τερος) δ
Ἡρακλ\ῆ/(ς) [ ]
/ [...].[
———————

Col. II
Σεμθ\έ/(υς) Ιμ\σ/() δ ἄλ\λ/(λαι) ις
Στοβ\α/() Ἁρυ\ώ/(του) δ
125 / Διονύσι(ος) Πεσ\σ/() δ

[..]λων δ
᾿Αθε\μ/(μεὺς) Ιμ\σ/() ..() η
Μεν\χ/(ῆς) Ιμ\σ/() η [...] ἄλ\λ/(λαι) [

spatium 3 cm.

/ ᾿Οννῶ/(φρις) Ε.μ.() δ δ .[
130 / Ιμ\σ/() Θηβαιστ\η/() δ δ
Κολλλ() Σισόις η
Σισόις Νεφ\ω/() η δ Πετε\/()[
/ ῾Αρσι\ῆ/(σις) ἀδε\λ/(φὸς) τελ\η/() η δ
Φᾶς Φᾶσος η
135 / [ ]...\/() δ δ
---------------------------

P. 25186

Frag. 1: 11.5 x 13.5 cm. Upper margin: 1–1.5 cm. *Kollesis* 5 cm. from the left edge.

Col. I

---------------------------
]·ν\α/() .[
] Μαχορ(ίτης) [
ἰ]σιονό\μ/(ος)
].τος α
140 ]αβήους α
] χήρ\α/
] .
]\η/() [
---------------------------

Col. II

[Πετ]εχ\ῶ/(ν) ῞Ωρο[(υ)] τέκτο\ν/ α
145 ] ᾿Αδρ\ά/(στου) ...[
]..οπε...[
]. ῟Ωρος ᾿Αντ.[
῞Αδρ\α/(στος) ᾿Αμμωνέως α
῟Ωρος Οραμουλις α
150 ᾿Αμολῆς α
υἱὸς
Λατηις Λεωσ\α/() Καιπα α
ἀδελφὸς
ανπηοιτι
155 Νεκθ[.....] ἡπητ\ή/(ς) [
Μαν[ρῆς
---------------------------



Frag. 2: 9 x 14. Broken-off on all four sides.

Col. I

---------------------------
].μι\δ/() α
]. Κολλ\ω/() [ ]
]..\/() Αν\/() α
160 ].ος
]\/()
---------------------------

Col. II

]χος [
]χ\ω/() ῾Ηρακλ[
Σενθεῦς ᾿Ιχνολύκου α
165 Πομβ\ῶ/(ς) Πτολεμαίου α
Σουῆρι⟨ς⟩ χήρα α
Φύλακος ῾Αρμιῦσις α
ἀδελφοὶ β
Κορσμᾶς [...]..χος α
170 .τεος α[......]μας .[
[῾Ε]ρμο[...ἀδελ]φὸς [
] δι [
---------------------------

Frag. 3: 8.3 x 8.5 cm. Lower margin: 0.5 cm. Col. I: traces of six line ends (lines 174–179).

Col. II

---------------------------
180 .[
Πτόλλις Κα[ψω?
᾿Ανταγορὶς Μ[
ἀδελφ[ὸς
᾿Αννεμμ{μ}εὺς Π.[
185 (γίν.) κα η [
ὁ\μ/(οίως) ζ [

Frag. 4: 10.5 x 12.5 cm. *Kollesis* 4.5 cm. from the right edge. Lower margin: 0.5 cm. Col. I: traces of six line ends tallying various sums: ].[, ]. ι, ]. ε, (190)] qβ, ]..., ].. ᾿Αφμη. To the right of this and separated by a curving stroke of ink: (γίν.) ᾿ΑΣ[, τπ[.

Col. II

---------------------------
.[
.[
195 Αν[..].[
Τ.[..]αι [
Πετεχ\ῶ/(ν) Σιδήρου [
.......
Πτολεμαῖ⟨ο⟩ς Κ[
200 (γίν.) .[
[ὁ]\μ/(οίως)[

Frag. 5: 9.5 x 12.5 cm. Lower margin 0.5 cm. Col. I: traces of six line ends; line 204: Πομσακ\ω/() α, line 205: ].ις θεαγὸς α. For this priest see Otto, Priester I 95.1, II 152.2; Roberts, JEA 20 (1934) 23; Rübsam 111; H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp. 86–87; P. Turner 17.5; Schönborn, Pastophoren 5; J. Whitehorne, P. Oxy. 3974 comm. Col. II: traces of five line beginnings; in line 212: Θεανοβάστι(ς) – cf. **2577**.517.

Frag. 6: 9 x 6 cm. Upper margin: 2.5 cm.

Ἀμφίωνι α[
　ἀγοραστ..[
215 　ἄλλαι .[
　(τετρώβολον) δ ε ὁ \α/(ὐτὸς) α[
κα.[
　σ[
----------------

Frag. 7: 5.5 x 6 cm.

---------------------------
　].......[
220 [...].ίσσου [
Μεσ() Καλαθύτι⟨ο⟩ς [
　υἱοὶ β
Μενεμφος Νεβ....[
　Καλουτου [
225 　ἀδ[ελφὸς
]ωτι[
---------------------------

Frag. 8: 7.5 x 8.5 cm. *Kollesis* 3 cm. from the left edge. Lower margin: 0.8 cm. Col. I: faint line end traces.

Col. II
---------------------------
[.]..[...]..[
Χῶλος Βαστ.[
　Σεντο.[
230 Ὧρος Κελᾶτος [
　(γίν.) ιζ 　　　[
　ὁ\μ/(οίως) ις 　　[



3 Κρ\η/(κίτης): Cf. **2577**.72 n.
29 Ἀμμην: The name, if read correctly, would be new.
31 Αθησις: The name, if read correctly, would be new.
35 Ὀρσάησι: A variant of Ἀρσαῆσις. Cf. Vergote 9.
36 Χαβισου: *add. onomasticis*?
37 Τικρας: *add. onomasticis*?
41 Πεκιτρις: *add. onomasticis*?
53 Ταορμάστης: *add. onomasticis*?
54 Κυτᾶς: Cf. Κυτῆς.
55 Αναπις: *add. onomasticis*?
56 *l.* Μέλας Μέλανος.
61 Πανθιχις: *add. onomasticis*?
62 Πετεχῶν: Cf. Vergote 14.
64 Ορανητ( ): *add. onomasticis*?
74 Μαλκατ\ο/(υ): *add. onomasticis*?
75 Παaρις: *add. onomasticis*?
78 Ψιξα: *add. onomasticis*?
80 *l.* γέρδιος.
95 Cf. **2577**.48.
100 Πακάιτος: *add. onomasticis*?
106 Cf. Vergote 7, 10, on the different Greek renditions of this Egyptian name.
114 Ιμ\σ/(): This unattested name appears frequently in this account.
118 Ἀριθρ\ή/(ους): A variant of Ἀριτρῆς.
119 Πετεαμ\ο/(ῦνις): Cf. Vergote 5, 14.
Ἀρ\χ/(): Cf. Vergote 7.
120 Πανετβε(ῦις): See J. Barns, P. Oxy. 2412 introd., on this characteristically Herakleopolitan name, and **2599**.2 n.
128 Μεν\χ/(ῆς): Cf. Vergote 10.
129f. The double digits undoubtedly record two separate payments.
131 Σισόις: Cf. Vergote 19.
138 ἰ]σιονό\μ/(ος): "*Inhaber und Verwalter eines der Isis geweihten Privatheiligtums"*, Otto II 73.4; F. Ll. Griffiths *ap.* Wilcken, UPZ II 177.20 n., derives it from the Egyptian *'n-wwe* "bringer of news". Cf. P. Pestman in: P. Mil. Vogl. III, p. 186: *in-w3w3j "consigliatore*;" *id.*, P. Tor. Amenothes, p. 122: *in-ww "chi porta consigli*;" and P. Lugd.-Bat. XIV, p. 54 n. 61. H. Harrauer, CPR XIII, pp 105–106 and Prosopographia Ptolemaica III, nos. 6902–6916, give lists of *isionomoi*.
140 ]αβήους: Cf. Mayser I,2, §64, pp. 41–42; **2577**.259.
144 *l.* τέκτων.
149 Οραμουλις: *add. onomasticis*?
152 Λατηις Λεωσ\α/(): *add. onomasticis*?; cf. **2577**.337.
164 Σενθεῦς Ἰχνολύκου: Cf. **2577**.97,469, for the father's name which is new.
165 Πομβ\ῶ/(ς): A variant of Φομβῶς.
166 Σουῆρι(ς): See J. van der Vliet, Aegyptus 71 (1991) 229, on this name.
167 Φύλακος is attested in Pape-Benseler and **2577**.344.
169 Κορσμᾶς: *add. onomasticis*.
181 Cf. **2577**.143,482.
184 Ἀννεμμ{μ}εύς: *add. onomasticis*?
199 Πτολεμαῖ⟨ο⟩ς?, Πτολεμαίς?
212 Θεανοβάστι(ς): Cf. **2577**.517 n.
216 Pap. f = (τετρώβολον)
228 Χῶλος Βαστ.[: Cf. **2577**.25.

# Indices

## I Titulatures and Regnal Years of Augustus





## II Months and Days

## III Personal Names

(* denotes unattested names)

# IV Geography







# V Religion

## VI Official Terms



## VII Military





## VIII Weights, Measures, Coins



## IX Taxes, Rents and Other Charges

# X General Index

(* denotes words not in LSJ)

fragmentary words


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## Addenda et Corrigenda

**2577** app. crit. read: 13 et passim Ϥ́, (delete 33) read 34 αδρᾰ́, 455 read 457, read 510 -ητό̆, 515 -ωφρ̆́

**2590** = SB XVI 12312. Col. I 15: [ἢ τἀναντί]α̣

**2592**.6 n.:Cf. J. Bodel, Graveyards and Groves (=American Jnl. of Anc. History 11), Cambridge, Mass. 1994, on sacred groves.

**2599**.17 *l.* ἀμελείαι.

**2661**.29 n.: Cf. B. Kramer, AFP 41 (1995) 217-231, on wood and timber.

**2669**.9, 13 ὑπαγκώνιον: Cf. O. Claudianos 174.4 n. and p. 78.

See on the excavations in Abusir el Melek: F. Knatz, O. Rubensohn, ZÄS 41 (1904) 1-21.